

Travels in America performed in 1806, for the purpose of exploring the rivers Alleghany, Monongahela, Ohio, and Mississippi, and ascertaining the produce and condition of their banks and vicinity. By Thomas Ashe, esq. ...

TRAVELS IN AMERICA, PERFORMED IN 1806, For the Purpose of exploring the RIVERS ALLEGHANY, MONONGAHELA, OHIO, AND MISSISSIPPI, AND ASCERTAINING THE PRODUCE AND CONDITION OF THEIR BANKS AND VICINITY.

BY THOMAS ASHE, ESQ.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LC

LONDON: PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHILLIPS, BRIDGE-STREET; By John Abraham, Clement's Lane.

1808.

F353 A8 224612 15

TRAVELS IN AMERICA.

LETTER XV.

Library of Congress

Indian incantations and charms—priests—their extraordinary knowledge and gifts—interesting explanation of the cause—very remarkable antiquities—encounter with a rattle-snake which is killed—deer—wild turkeys—Lanesville—farther very remote and grand antiquities—golden treasure found—the bubble bursts.

Marietta, June, 1806.

I PASSED the night near the mausoleum without any other interruption than what proceeded from the howl of hungry wolves exasperated on seeing a fire keep from them victims they durst VOL. II. B 2 not approach. I also had to renew the fire, and to suffer Cuff to perform certain rites and incantations, in the manner of his country, and which had the faculty of checking the advances of snakes. He expressed these offices by stalking several times round our tent. His gesticulation was strong, and his cries horrible. He also uttered some barbarous words; described a circle on each round with the end of a stick, and, after shedding certain leaves on the circle, he concluded with three more infernal yells; and then, under a decided impression or strong conviction of safety, cast himself near me on his *berth*. It would seem, that priestcraft, connected as it is in the native ministers of this country, with an affectation of sorcery and supernatural power, gains great dominion over every savage mind, and disposes to the belief and practice of every absurdity. There are, 3 therefore, no people more under the subjugation of superstition, or who exercise such a variety of charms and exorcisms, as the Indians; in the uses and particular terms and applications of which they are instructed with the utmost precision, by their priests and physicians: those two professions being always united in one character. The priests, savage and untutored as they were, saw, at a very early period, that to establish their fame, and an ample sway over the public mind, it was necessary for them on every essential occasion, to manifest infinite skill; and to prove that they were the favorite childrein of the Great Spirit, by his having endowed them with a portion of his power, and given them permission to display that power in public exhibitions of extraordinary miracles. Hence from the most early ages, have they been going about healing wounds,

Library of Congress

curing 4 inveterate diseases, and giving ocular demonstration of their dominion over all descriptions of envenomed and noxious reptiles, by suffering them to twine round their bodies, and passing through their fingers and hair without inflicting on them any manner of injury. So complete is the tyranny they have established over rattle-snakes, and others armed with weapons equally deadly, that they lure them from their deepest retreats, and make them fly from or follow them by apparent command.* .

* It is remarkable, that in Egypt, the sect of Sadi possess similar power over snakes.
Editor.

As this preternatural knowledge and powers are exhibited in the face of day before multitudes, the respect shewn to the priest, and the observance paid their instruction and precepts, ceases to 5 be the object of surprize; and the mind fastens on a true ground for admiration and astonishment, and asks from what authority do the Indian priests derive the power of curing disease and of subjugating the most malignant creatures of the reptile world? The question is very comprehensive, and, no doubt, sufficient to invite the investigation of the learned. For my part, not having taste for elaborate discussion, or talent for metaphysical research, I am reduced to answer the question nearly in a word. "They derive their knowledge and their power from the great book of nature which a beneficent God has laid open before them." On assuming the united offices of physician and priest, they soon became conscious that any attribute or reverence to be accorded their character of priest, was to be drawn from the skill and acquirements they could, display in their profession of physician. 6 To obtain that skill and those acquirements they have to study nature, and that they do with the most unwearied assiduity and application. Their own particular saying is, "*Nature produces nothing for nothing:*" implying that whatever is, *is* for some particular end and purpose. This leads them to investigate the properties of things, the qualities of plants, and the nature of simples, in order to make them subservient to their will, and applicable to their exigencies. They were evidently conducted to these interesting enquiries, and to the useful knowledge resulting from them, by observing, that the animals of the forests and fields, with whom they in a manner

Library of Congress

associated, on eating any noxious herb, had immediate resource to a salutary one, which counteracted the poison of the other. They also observed, that many plants and herbs were purgative, others 7 astringent. To these and many others, they perceived animals, in a state of sickness drawn by a secret impulse, whilst those in health past them by in disgust. Animals bitten by venomous reptiles, and impregnated by the strongest vines, were seen to seek a peculiar plant to recover their energy and strength; and these reptiles in their turn, have been known to betray violent apprehension at the approach of a hog, and to shew such antipathy to certain herbs, trees, and plants, as to suffer death sooner than avoid it by passing over them. Objects, too, have been discovered to which snakes in particular, have such passion and attachment, that they abandon their security, and face every danger to enjoy them.

Armed with all this knowledge, the priests come before the world as persons inspired. Knowing that their science would have little eclat if known to have 8 been acquired in the fields, and from the animals in the forests and woods, they never display any part of it without wild cries and horrid gesticulation. Hence, whenever they administer the simple applicable to the disorder, they express cabalistical ejaculations, shrieks and contortions, to impress on the patient's and public mind an idea that the cure is to proceed from their mysterious proceedings, which alone gives operation and virtue to the remedies they administer. On healing sores with warm medicaments; on curing agues in baths of hot vegetable steam; on removing stitches, spasms, and pluracies by sodorifies, and the diarrhæa, by astringents, &c. &c. they perform a multitude of rites, and as their patients for the most part recover, the whole is ascribed to the charm, and the people adopt the words, spells, incantations, and exorcisms of the priests, under 9 every affliction and disease,—whether proceeding from an unknown cause or from the bite of venomous animals. From their habits of life, Indians are often exposed to this last calamity, and the priests, in consequence, have to instruct each individual to know the antidote and to give it efficacy by gesture and incantation. They also instruct the whole tribe in a manner of sleeping in the open air, and in the utmost safety, though surrounded by snakes, not one

Library of Congress

of which dare approach them. The instruction consists in taking a stick and leaves from a certain tree; with the point of the stick describe a ring round the sleeping-ground; place on the ring the leaves, and on doing this perform certain ceremonies. This process to be renewed at intervals of waking. This is all the knowledge they impart to the tribe, and this is highly efficacious and valuable; for, rejecting VOL. II C 10 the folly of the use of words and exorcism, merely given to convey a high notion of superior power, the antidotes and herbs pointed out are certain cures, and the simple action of drawing a line with a *black ash stick*, and strewing on the line some leaves of the same tree, is known to be entirely sufficient to hinder any snake from crossing the line, and to deter him from interrupting any thing within side of it. So great is their terror to this timber, that they are never known to inhabit where it grows; and, if a branch of black ash be suddenly cast before a rattlesnake, apprehension and fear instantly seize him; his rattle ceases; his passion subsides; and groveling, timid, yet disquiet, he takes a large circuit to pass the branch, or, more probably entirely retires.

The renewal of the operation of describing the circle, and strewing the 11 leaves, is evidently for fear the smell should be faded, or the leaves driven off by the wind.

As to the familiarity subsisting between the priests and the snakes, the principle of which they withhold from the multitude, it is to be accounted for in a way no doubt equally simple. They are, as I observed, acquainted with herbs and other substances, for which the snakes entertain the most inordinate apprehension and antipathy, or else the most decided attachment and attraction. Alternately armed with these, the priests make them fly from or approach them; and when their hands and bodies are washed with a decoction of the black ash-leaves or trunk, the snakes will writhe about them in a kind of suffering and terror, but never attempt to bite. Making the snakes dance and move in a variety of forms in a certain place, is nothing more than what I have so often stated, either marking or strewing the borders of the enclosure with the object for which they entertain the greatest antipathy, or, what is more likely, the greatest terror and apprehension. I need hardly tell you that the stick and leaves employed by Cuff were of the black ash, which he purposely

Library of Congress

brought out of the low woods for our protection. His words, cries, and features, exactly accord to the instructions given his tribe; and to them alone he attributes any virtue: the stick and leaves being only as a wand, or necessary instrument in the great work. I asked him whether he would not the next time merely describe the circle and strew the leaves, he answered, "he durst not, as the Great Spirit might be angry if he attempted to take from him the power and the praise." I saw it was in vain to make him think otherwise, 13 and deemed it almost a crime to shake such firm belief: I therefore hastened my departure, and left the mausoleum by the first light of day.

On quitting the spot, a variety of appearances confirmed my original opinion that it had been an advanced guard picket post, or place of look-out. That the oval and rampart were not constructed for a barrow, or for an individual's monument in the first instance, is very certain, as in either case, the skeletons or skeleton would have been deposited at the base, this being the practice of all Indian tribes.

Apprehending that a camp and Indian settlement of antiquity could not be far distant, I took a north-westerly direction, leaving on my right the river, whose course was N.E. by S.W. I had walked but one hour before I arrived at a place which bore strong indications of the object of my research. It was 14 a small valley between two mountains, which suffered the waters of a clear creek to find a passage to the Muskingum. On exploring some time, I discovered the actual remains of a very ancient settlement. They consisted of, first, a wall or rampart of earth, of about nine feet perpendicular elevation, and thirty feet across the base. The rampart was of a semi-circular form; its diameter one hundred paces, bounded by the creek. On crossing the creek I found a similar rampart placed in such a position, that the work must have been a true circle intercepted by the stream. After a minute examination, I could perceive very visible remains of elevated stone abutments of bridges, which served to connect the two semi-circles in the centre, and at their divisions above and below the stream. The timber growing on the rampart and within its circumference, 15 is principally red oak of great age and magnitude, some of the trees in a state of decay, being not less than seven feet diameter. Second, higher up, and to where the creek

Library of Congress

runs in a very contracted channel, caused by the approach of the mountains, the sides and passage through which appear entirely inaccessible, are several mounds of earth, standing at equal distances from each other, and forming three semi-circular streets, which crossed the creek, or, perhaps, I may be better understood by saying, that sixty mounds, placed so as to describe portions of a very large circle, and expressing the figure of a quadrant, lay at each side of the creek: and, as these two quadrants were also united together by two bridges, whose remains are distinct, when taken in one point of view, they should represent a semi-circle, whose base would be exactly above the camp. On each side of the mountain 16 and parallel with the mounds are two barrows nearly thirty feet long, twelve high, and seventeen wide at the base. These barrows are composed principally of stone taken out of the creek—notwithstanding here is produced, timber of fine growth.

The mounds hitherto discovered in America have been taken for *tumuli*, or mausoleums of the distinguished dead—the barrows, for the common sepulchres of the multitude. The judgement on the latter subject is perfectly correct, that on the former I presume erroneous. That the mounds in question are not *tumuli*, there can be no manner of question. Their order, number, and arrangement are such, as entirely to preclude an idea of the kind. In all probability they are the ruins of the houses of an Indian village, which, having fallen in on desertion, earth, leaves, and various substances drifted on them 17 by the winds of ages, filled up all inequalities, and gave them the conical figure they now possess. Their proximity to, and the protection afforded them by the circular fort, is another evidence of their having been the houses of a town, the dead of which were deposited in the adjacent barrows.

Presuming it to have been a small town, I can conceive nothing more safe or romantic than its site. The country behind it inaccessible; high mountains on each side, and a beautiful stream, valley, and fortification, in front. It is more than probable that the post at which I passed the night was the advanced guard of the camp—that post could convey an alarm if any thing important occurred on the Ohio side. Encouraging this idea, and seeing

Library of Congress

a very commanding eminence about three miles higher up, and near the Muskingum, I C
5 18 directly made for it, and immediately discovered it to be nearly similar to the ground
on which I had slept the night before. The appearances were too strong to admit of but
one opinion, which was, that it was a place of look out, or beacon, communicating with the
former one, and with the settlement I had just left. I took the pains of clearing the top of
the eminence, which was more of an obliterated circle than an oval, but I could not discover
any stone or any mark which might lead to a supposition of its being a barrow or place
of interment. The country above was hilly, yet not so high as to intercept the view for a
presumed distance of twenty miles. After a hasty repast, I proceeded toward that range,
and encountered nothing remarkable, if I except the immense quantity of quails I met
in the valleys, thirteen of which I killed in three shots. I also saw for 19 the first time this
season, several rattlesnakes sunning themselves on the south sides of stony banks. On
hearing my dog bark as if at an object he durst not spring upon, and at the same time
hearing a quick and irritated rattle, I passed to the direction of the noise, and found the
dog running at and from a rattlesnake, whose head stood erect about four feet from a coil
of several folds, and whose tail, moving with rapid vibration, was disengaged from the
coil to emit a warning or deadly sound. The dog refused to be called off, and in proportion
as he barked and ran in and off, the snake increased in agitation and fury—at times
feigning to strike, and others casting off a wind of his coil, awaiting a grand opportunity of
striking in reality. He emitted his crimson tongue with great velocity, his eyes glared fire,
his head swelled to a violent degree, and his throat shone in 20 great variety of beautiful
and vivid colours. He had arrived at the acme of his choler; he was even poisoning himself
with the determination to give the fatal blow, when, attachment to my dog, sinking all
considerations of personal safety, I rushed on and dragged him off. The poor Mandanean
took the same eventful instant to strike the snake with a long stick he had prepared for
the purpose. The first blow brought him down, but with unimpaired vigour, till he fastened
on the stick, with the intention of wreaking on it the whole of his wrath and vengeance.
So much was he occupied by this determined spirit, and engaged on the stick, that Cuff,
on giving him a blow or two more, ran in and struck his head off with the axe. The last

Library of Congress

act produced a horrid effect, the body, preserving all the principles of life, described a sphere from the ground under which a man could 21 pass; it then assumed as many undulations as its length and volume would allow, and finally rolled along the earth till it came in contact with a tree, round which it once more coiled, and against which it beat its extremities with a violence that soon destroyed the power of action and resistance, and left the creature with unfolded involutions, exanimate round the root of the tree. The head remained attached so firmly to the stick, as not to be shaken off, nor was I disposed to make many efforts for that purpose. Cuff was tempted very strongly to carry away a piece of the snake which he asserted to be most delicious meat, and far superior to the birds he carried in his bag. To this I could not listen, but directed him cautiously to separate the rattle from the body, and lay it carefully up. I also extended the whole animal, though he was far from being dead, and found 22 his length to be, allowing for rattle and head, twelve feet; and his circumference over the shoulders fifteen inches. The rattle was composed of eleven joints. The head was so inflated, and expressive of much horror and poisonous malignity, that I had not courage to give it any investigation. I pursued my journey, and, confess to you without any desire of meeting a Quixote adventure. On the contrary, I had to walk several hours before I could shake off the influence of terror and the gloom of apprehension.

Reaching, by four o'clock, a very fine spring, and being considerably weary, I halted, made a fire, and dressed a few quails on the embers. In size and flavor they resemble your English partridges; but their habits and form rank them under the species of quail. Without disturbing myself respecting their natural history, I made an excellent repast, and resumed my route much 23 refreshed, and resolved by night to gain the top of the mountain, which I had previously pitched upon and observed in the morning. On the way I was crossed by a very fine herd of deer, exactly like the European, only somewhat larger in size. They turned to gaze, and passed on a round trot till I fired a rifle shot, which bringing one of them down, the rest went off with the speed of the wind, nor heeded Cuff, who essayed all their various complaints and cries to retard and allure them.

Library of Congress

As evening approached, I was much pleased to come in view of a flock of wild turkeys. I wished to have an opportunity of observing their action—the one afforded me was of the best it possibly could be: they were travelling before me—therefore occasioned no loss of way. The flock consisted of about thirty-four, on the ground, searching for food: they were not considerably alarmed ²⁴ till I had approached them within sixty yards. They then moved on a kind of long hop and run, stopped, and as we gained on them proceeded in the same way. On a nearer approach, they took short flights, rose above the trees, and lighted upon them at intermediate spaces of about thirty rods. At every rest I instructed Cuff to gobble in their manner. This act appeared to attract their attention and retard their flight; and, what was of more consequence, they made responses, which guided our pursuit when they were obstructed from view by the thick ombrage of the woods, and the fast approach of night. They finally went a more considerable distance; and as I judged, to a favorite place of roost. I still had the good fortune to keep in their track, and to come directly on the spot they had chosen for their rest. They rose up with much perturbation and noise, and again ²⁵ descended to rest. The whole gang occupied four trees, and still they rose, fell, and acted with one accord. I resolved to fire on them. I had heard, that whenever wild turkeys settled to roost, there they remained in despite of all opposition. My motive in firing then was to ascertain the fact. On the first shot they all rose with great clamour about thirty yards above the summits of the trees, and as instantaneously descended direct upon them. On firing again, similar circumstances occurred, and at a third discharge no variation succeeded, nor did they betray the least disposition to depart effectually and remove their quarters. My first discharge was with ball, which brought down a very fine bird, the two last merely powder—but I regard the fact to be ascertained as firmly as if I had killed the whole flock. This dull propensity in these animals must ultimately ²⁶ operate to their destruction. There is no manner of doubt but had such a flock come within reach of a sportsman of the Virginia shore, he would have brought every one of them to the ground.

We proceeded to Zaneville, where learning from the inhabitants, that the neighbourhood was surrounded by Indian remains, and they offering their assistance, we agreed to proceed together, and make one grand scrutiny and systematic research. Enquiry soon instructed us in what direction to seek the most extensive ruins of the labors of former times. We found it to be five miles due west. The ruins were magnificent in a high degree, and consisted of mounds, barrows, and ramparts, but of such variety of form, and covering so immense a track of ground, that it would take ten days to survey, still more to describe them. I made out an authority however to back an opinion I entertained, ²⁷ that the Indians, though they generally preferred a circular fort to all others, still built forts of a different construction, when confined by ground and other particular exigencies. In the present instance, it was evident, that the whole ruins were situated in a plain of a triangular figure, formed by the intersection of one mountain with another. Towards the angle bounded by the junction of the mountains, were placed the mounds and barrows, and in the front the ramparts, extended in the figure of a triangle, composed of two acute and one obtuse angle—the obtuse forming the centre and front of the plain. The exact length of the sides I could not ascertain, both from obstruction and their extent. I made an effort and advanced three hundred yards, but did not at all approach the conclusion of one side. Some swamps and a multitude ²⁸ of snakes prevented my proceeding.

The principal object was, however, to ascertain the contents of the different objects. I give you my notes. First, a large barrow to the south was thrown open by making a ditch across it from east to west. Three feet below the surface was fine mould, underneath which were small flat stones lying regularly on a strata of gravel brought from the mountain in the vicinity. This last covered the remains of a human skeleton, which fell into impalpable powder when touched and exposed to air. Towards the base of the barrow, we came to three tier more of substances placed in similar rotation and regularity. And, as the skeletons formed two rows four tier deep, separated by little more than a flag stone between the feet of one skeleton and the head of another, it is probable, that the entire barrow contained ²⁹ about two thousand skeletons, in a greater state of decay than any I

Library of Congress

ever yet examined. In this search a well carved stone-pipe, expressing a bear's head, and some arrow flint-points were found, together with some fragments of pottery of fine texture. Second, we perforated, and even perfectly laid open several mounds: they contained nothing whatever remarkable, except some pieces of black substance representing mineral coal; but which, on a nearer inspection, appeared to have been wood, and to have retained every trace and character of timber but colour and weight; the one being a deep black, and the other of three times the density of ebony or iron wood. When put into a fire made by the people, it emitted much smoke, blue blaze, smell of sulphur, and very gradually consumed. Third, the rampart, though opened in three distinct places, afforded no variety. 30 The composition was earth and stones lying in a manner that betrayed some design in the original construction. The plain, and all the artificial objects upon its surface, grew some of the heaviest timber in the western. Taking this for date, the ruins may be deemed as ancient as any in the world.

Our views affected, and on our return from the mounds, through the angular fort, our attention was attracted by a small swell on a part of the ground which might have been nearly the centre of the fort. Some thought it a natural wave of the earth, and of this opinion I should have been, had I not perceived a remarkable singularity. Although more than thirty feet in diameter, it had on it neither shrub, tree, nor any thing but a multitude of pink and purple flowers. We came to an opinion that it was artificial, and as it differed in form and character from the mounds, 31 we resolved to lay it open, though not before every person surmised its contents and properties. It was cast open to the level of the plain, without rewarding labor or curiosity. Vexed at such ill success, I jumped from the bank among the hands, in order to take a spade and encourage them to dig somewhat deeper. At this instant the ground gave way and involved us all in earth and ruin! You may conceive what a cry issued from such an unexpected tomb! But it was soon followed by much mirth and laughter. No person was hurt. Nor was the fall above three feet. I had great difficulty to prevail on any person to resume the labor—and had to explore the place myself, and sound it with a pole, before we could renew our pursuit. At length we removed

Library of Congress

the earth, and found that a parcel of timbers had given way, which covered the orifice of a square hole 32 seven feet by four, and four deep—nearly under the centre of the swell or mound. That it was a sepulchre was unanimously agreed, till we found it in vain to look for bones or any substance similar to them in decomposition. At the depth of three feet, however, we struck an object which would neither yield to the spade nor emit any sound; on perceiving still further, we found the obstruction, which was uniform through the pit, to proceed from rows of large spherical bodies—at first taken to be stones. Several of them were cast up to the surface: they were exactly alike: perfect globes, nine inches in diameter, and about twenty pounds weight. The superficies of one when cleaned and scraped with knives, appeared like a ball of base metal, so strongly impregnated with the dust of gold, that the baseness of the metal itself was nearly altogether obscured. The clamour was so great, and the joy so exuberant, that no opinion but one was admitted, and no voice could be heard while the cry of “’tis gold! ’tis gold!” resounded through the groves. Having determined on this important point, we formed a council respecting the distribution of the treasure, and each individual in the joy of his heart, declared publicly the use he proposed to make of the part allotted to his share. The Englishman concluded that he would return to England, being certain, *from experience*, that there was no country like it. A German of our party said he would never have quitted the Rhine, had he had money enough to rebuild his barn which was blown down by a high wind, but that he would return to the very spot from whence he came, and prove to his neighbours that he loved his country as well as another when he had the means of doing well. An Irishman swore damnation the day longer he'd stay in America, but gave no motive for his determination, and my Mestizo appeared to think that were he to purchase some beads, rum, and blankets, and return to his, own nation, he might become Sachem and keep the finest Syaws of it. For my part, I saw in the treasure the ample means of visiting other climes, and my imagination traversed South America, Africa, Asia, and the few parts of Europe I had not before explored. Such were our various views. The most remarkable trait they suggest, is, that though in America, and filled with all the dreams that have been

Library of Congress

related of its felicities and wealth, not one of the party had ever thought of remaining or of making it a perpetual residence!

Reserving but one globe of gold, or at least one ball of mixed gold, we carefully secured the remainder of the 35 treasure and returned to Zaneville, famished and weary, yet elated, and after a hasty repast, we, with much privacy and precaution subjected our gold to the ordeal of fire, and stood around its operation in silence, and fearful to regard each other or to breathe. The dreadful element which was to confirm or consume our hopes soon began to exercise its various powers. In a few moments the ball turned black; filled the room with sulphurous smoke, emitted sparks and intermittent flames, and burst into ten thousand pieces! So great was the terror and suffocation, that all rushed into the street and gazed on each other with a mixed expression of doubt and astonishment. The German took advantage of the interval to ask me to *lend* him a dollar, with which he walked away, without returning to examine the gold. The smoke subsided, we were enabled to discover the 36 elements of our treasure: they consisted of some very fine ashes and a great quantity of cinders perforated through and through. The disappointment soon wore off; we laughed heartily at our visionary views, and resolved not to be deceived by a ball of spirite another time. A ball of spirite!—It was nothing more. I understand the mountains abound with it; but how the Indians came to form it into spheres, and to preserve it in their camps, I remain entirely ignorant. They may have used them in religious rites, or in gymnastic exercises, for ought I know; or, what is still more interesting, they might have made them instrumental to purposes of war. I shall, however, extend my enquiries on this subject, and with some small hopes of success, as I learn that Colonel Ludlow of Cincinnati, has found balls of a similar composition and structure, 37 and perhaps under circumstances that may assist to illumine their history and use.

LETTER XVI.

Little Kenhaway River—Belleprie—Bacchus's Island—fine view of it—the house—its elegant and interesting inhabitants—a rural evening and supper—Big Hockhocking River

Library of Congress

—New Lancaster Town—its sudden rise and as sudden decline by a contagious sickness—Dutch cupidity and its consequences—Belleville Town and Island—the Devil's Creek—Letart's Falls—danger of passing them, especially in the night—Campaign Creek—Point Pleasant, a handsome little town.

Point Pleasant, Great Kenhaway River, July, 1806.

THE morning after the golden vision I purchased a small canoe for two dollars and descended the Muskingum to Marietta 38 without any accident or incident worth recording. On my arrival at Marietta, I perceived means to remove the relics I had the good fortune to discover on the first day of my excursion, and, having got them and some necessaries into my boat, cast loose and turned once more into the current of the Ohio.

In a run of ten miles I passed no less than four islands, and two miles more brought me up to the little Kenhaway river on the left side. The little Kenhaway is one hundred and fifty yards wide at its mouth. It yields a navigation of ten miles only. Perhaps its northern branch called Junius's Creek, which interlocks with the western branch of the Monongahela, may one day admit a shorter passage from the latter to the Ohio. Opposite to this river is the town and settlement of Belleprie, three miles from which is Bacchus's island.

On leaving Marietta a lady and gentleman 39 who had been on a visit there desired a passage to the island. This request was with much pleasure granted, and I had only to lament that the voyage was so short which was to terminate my acquaintance with persons so truly interesting and amiable. The island hove in sight to great advantage from the middle of the river, from which point of view little more appeared than the simple decorations of nature; trees, shrubs, and flowers of ever perfume and kind. The next point of view on running with the current on the right hand side varied to a scene of enchantment; a lawn, in the form of a fan inverted, presented itself: the nut forming the centre and summit of the island, and the broad segment the borders of the water. The

Library of Congress

lawn contained one hundred acres of the best pasture, interspersed with flowering shrubs and clumps of trees, in a manner that conveyed a strong conviction of the 40 taste and judgment of the proprietor. The house came into view at the instant I was signifying a wish that such a lawn had a mansion. It stands on the immediate summit of the island, whose ascent is very gradual; is snow white; three stories high, and furnished with wings which interlock the adjoining trees, confine the prospect, and intercept the sight of barns, stables and out offices, which are so often suffered to destroy the effect of the noblest views in England.

The full front of the house being the signal for pulling in for the island, we did so immediately, and fell below a small wharf that covered an eddy, and made the landing both easy and secure. There was no resisting the friendly opportunity of my passengers: no excuse would be taken: to stop the night at least was insisted upon, and with a convincing expression that the desire flowed from hearts desirous not to 41 be refused. There is something so irresistable in invitations of such a nature that they cannot be denied. I gave instructions respecting my boat and giving the lady my arm we walked up the beautiful lawn, through which a winding path led to the house. It was tea-time: that refreshment was served and conducted with a propriety and elegance which I never witnessed out of Britain. The conversation was chaste and general, and the manners of the lady and gentleman were refined without being frigid; distinguished without being ostentatious, and familiar without being vulgar, importunate or absurd. Before the entire decline of day we walked in the gardens which were elegantly laid out in your country's stile; produced remarkably fine vegetables, and had a very favorable shew of standard peaches and other fruit. We next turned into the woods. I soon perceived why the island was named D 5 42 Bacchus. It abounds with vines which grow to great height and strength, but never produce to any perfection. The path we had taken led to the water, the border of which brought us to the boat, where it seems all the servants of the family had assembled to hear what news my people might have brought into their little world. We found them seated on the green around Mindeth, who, proud to be their historian, related

Library of Congress

tales of such peril and affright, that they gazed on him with sensations of wonder and astonishment, or with the softened emotions of pity and complaint. The poor Mandanean, excluded by his colour and aspect from participating in the social pleasures of the whites, had built himself a good fire, made himself the section of a tent, and was preparing his rod and line to catch some fish for supper. I saw the lady so pleased with this scene and so delighted, in particular, with Cuff's truly 43 rural establishment, that I proposed supping on the shore, and by displaying a specimen of my evenings on the river, gave some idea of former times and the innocent enjoyments of primitive life. The night being perfectly fine and the moon out, and some light clouds hindering the dew from falling, my proposition was joyfully acceded to, and insructions were given accordingly.

This determination gave life and interest to a scene which before was calm and pleasing. All was action and bustle. The historian no more attended. Every one assumed an occupation, and Cuff saw his fire and his tent surrounded by twenty willing assistants. The lady being engaged in instructing the servants and sending them to the house for a few necessary articles, I proposed to take the gentleman in my canoe across the current, and under the shade of the trees of the bank, with a lighted torch attract the 44 fish to the surface and spear them while gazing at the blaze. We crossed over and met with the success of striking seven large cat and sun fishes in less than half an hour. We returned with the torch still burning, and the hands singing "the beautilous Month of May," in cadence to the paddles which rose and struck with a preconcerted regularity.—This mode of the nocturnal fishing was quite novel to the inhabitants of the little insulated world. The lady was charmed with it, and declared that the view of the canoe by torch-light across the water; the conversation obscurely heard; the sudden bursts of exultation announcing every success, and the cheerful return with mirth and song, was an improvement of the finest sorts to a scene before, she deemed incapable of augmentation! After chatting some time on subjects immediately rising out of occurring incidents, and admiring the versatility 45 of mind which one time finds felicity in towns and midnight masquerades, and at another

Library of Congress

acknowledges happiness on the contrasted theatre of the rivers and wildernesses, we sat down to our repast, and in a short time paid it the strong encomium of a satiated appetite.

After which we returned to the house, where over a bottle of wine one hour longer we conversed on the pleasures of our rural sports and retired to rest with that heart-felt ease and serenity which follows an innocent and well spent day.

Next morning after breakfast I with difficulty tore myself from this interesting family. You will excuse me for omitting the names of the amiable couple. They were emigrants of the first distinction from Ireland.

Two hours after leaving the island, I reached the lower settlement of Belleprie, a rising place on the right hand side, 46 three miles below which on the same side I passed Little Hockhocking, Newbury settlement and Bar, Mastaphy island and Big Hockhocking river, near the mouth of which I brought up in order to make a few observations and enquiries.

The Big Hockhocking is eighty yards wide at its mouth, and yields navigation for loaded bateaux to the press-place, sixty miles above its mouth. At the head of this navigation stands New-Lancaster, a town formed of about one hundred and fifty well built houses, and inhabited chiefly by Germans and Dutch from Old Lancaster in Pennsylvania, and the settlements in its vicinity. New Lancaster seven years ago was but emerging from the woods, where the industrious people I have mentioned from the east, were tempted by the reputation of the lands in its neighbourhood to settle in and around it, and to encourage all their 47 friends to flock to the Ohio State, and follow the example they had set them, for the advancement of their comfort and promotion of their prosperity. You may judge with what eagerness the town and country were settled when you learn that one hundred and fifty brick, frame and log-houses were erected in less than seven years, and that land rose from one and two, to five, ten, fifteen, and even twenty dollars per acre. It has notwithstanding sustained a sad reverse within these two years. The last summer alone gave landed and other property a fall of one hundred and fifty per cent. This violent

Library of Congress

depreciation is to be attributed to a general sickness which attacked the settlement and swept off two-thirds of the inhabitants, before its progress was checked by the setting in of the frost. Very few of the first settlers now exist! Seven years toil and labor concluded their reign, and in all probability seven 48 more will extinguish the generation now rising in their place! What a gloomy prospect! What a melancholy reflection! And from whence arose a change and calamity so unexpected and painful to a liberal mind?

Avarice, and an inordinate craving after gold, form the well known characteristic of the Dutch. With them every consideration dissolves before views of acquirement, or prospects which hold out acquisitions of wealth. The first settlers of New Lancaster discovering lands to be of the first quality, bought up several thousand acres at a reduced price, erected a few buildings, and sent emissaries to their countrymen to tempt them into their speculations, and allow them for certain advantages a participation of their views. Many came, and by acting in a similar efficacious manner to sell their purchase and populate the place, a few years numbered from six to seven thousand 49 inhabitants, composed of artisans, shop-keepers, mechanics, and farmers. The head of the navigation being the most profitable place on which to erect a town, it was chosen for that purpose, and its being healthy or unhealthy made no part of the calculation, or entered into the consultations on the business. Those who settled on farms chose the vicinity of creeks and springs for their habitations, for if they chose high grounds, time would be lost in looking after water, "time is money," say the Dutch. Some intermittent fevers, and a few hundred deaths in the first three or four years began to spread suspicions, that all was not right: that swampy spots were pernicious to life, that the money gleaned off them could neither purchase happiness or maintain health. To build a new town, new houses and barns, and to clear new lands were changes and expenses too heavy to be endured: things remained till two successive 50 summers teeming with disease, consumed the bulk of the inhabitants of the settlement, and compelled the few remaining ones to abandon their avaricious intentions and learn in future how to live.

So entirely was health cast out of all consideration at the time of erecting New Lancaster, that the settlers were not turned from their intention though a swamp of great extent, and part of which immediately bounds the west of the town, lay directly before them and emitted an effluvia so noxious as could hardly be withstood. Nor did they reflect that another swamp of a still worse nature, called "the muddy prairie," lay contiguous, and cast out of its bowels an air so mephitic, that persons had to close their mouth and nose on crossing any part of it. Deer and other animals chased into these swamps by hunters, sink after a few struggles and never more appear.

51

The swamps will never be drained. Their extent and character defy human industry: the depth alone being much greater than any adjacent streams. The prevailing disorders they disseminate, are agues, fevers, and violent reachings. The latter complaint is nearly always fatal; and is accompanied by all the symptoms of yellow fever, such as derangement, convulsions, and a general effusion of blood.

Three miles below the Big Hockhocking, on the Virginia shore, I passed the town and settlement of Belleville, and two miles lower down I enjoyed the sight of a beautiful island of the same name, covered with trees, shrubs and verdure; and after a run of ten miles further without impediment, I arrived at a very dangerous part of the river, distinguished by the name of the Devil's Creek. In passing the creek, which issues from the Virginia shore, I found it necessary to 52 keep close round the left hand point to avoid being thrown by the current on dangerous rocks which lie in the bend above and below the mouth of the creek. I succeeded well, but not without seeing the danger which required much exertion to shun.

Having lost considerable time in my late excursions, I being seduced by the fineness of the evening, and promised lightness of the night, determined on not bringing to till I should reach this place. I therefore continued on, past Amberson's Island, Goose Island, and by midnight came up to two islands which I understood to be but half a mile above Letart's Falls, universally feared as one of the most terrific parts of the navigation of the

Library of Congress

river. The roaring of the falls had reached us sometime before we made the islands, and reflections of propriety, safety, &c. were making such progress on my mind, that I began to repent of my determination, 53 and to feel a disposition not to proceed any further till morning. Prudence may arrive too late. The channel past the islands was close to the right hand shore, yet I dared not put the boat's head towards it, the current being impetuous, and the shore full of trunks of trees, breakers, and snags. Perceiving obstructions which were at once difficult and arduous to remove, I made preparations to shoot the falls. The men received my instructions with a silence which augured some fear; the waters uttered the most tremendous sounds, and the mist of their dashing rising into the air spread an apparent fog on their surface from side to side. The scene was awful: there was no alternative. I took the helm and placing the hands on each bow with a pole to guard against rocks, followed the current to the second island, from thence to about one-third of the river from the right hand shore, and there held it to the falls. The 54 boat took chute in the most capital manner, past through like the flight of a bird and never once turned round. In taking the chute, I observed a sunken rock to my right, that formed a very large ripple, and several others to my left, which caused the water to boil and make a grumbling dull noise. Instantly on dropping from the falls, it was necessary to take to the oars, to avoid an eddy of great power which sucked in logs and every thing else within its attraction, and cast them up about two hundred yards lower down.

I arrived at Point Pleasant to breakfast, and found it a handsome little town, well situated on the confluence of the Great Kenhaway with the Ohio, and commanding a very extensive view of the latter river. It contains about forty houses frame and log, and has not the aspect of ever being much augmented. The few disconsolate inhabitants who go 55 up and down, or lie under trees, have a dejected appearance, and exhibit the ravage of disease in every feature, and the tremor of the ague in every step. Their motive for settling the town must have been to catch what they can from persons descending the river, and from people emigrating from the S. W. parts of Virginia, with a view of settling lower down the river, and who must make Point Pleasant a place of deposit and embarkation. Were

it not for the unhealthiness of the town, it would not be unreasonable to presume that this circumstance would render it in time a place of considerable note. Point Pleasant is two hundred and seventy miles from Pittsburg.

56

LETTER XXII.

Farther particulars of the Great Kenhaway River—Lead mines—attrocious massacre of Indians, the family of the celebrated Logan, the friend of the whites—its consequences—the battle of Point Pleasant—the speech of Logan—Catalogue of Indian birds—Character of the Mocking-bird and the Virginia Nightingale.

Mouth of the Great Kenhaway, July, 1806.

I FIND the great Kenhaway to be a river of considerable character for the fertility of its lands, and still more, as leading towards the head waters of James's river. Nevertheless it is doubtful whether its great and numerous rapids will admit navigation, but at an expence to which it will require ages to render the inhabitants 57 equal. The great obstacles begin at what are called the great falls, ninety miles above the mouth, below which are only five or six rapids, and three passable with some difficulty, even at low water. From the falls to the mouth of Greenbrier River is one hundred miles, and from thence to the lead mines, one hundred and twenty.

The lead is found mixed, sometimes with earth, and sometimes with rock, which requires the force of gunpowder to open; and is accompanied with a portion of silver, too small to be worth separation under any process hitherto attempted. The proportion yielded is from fifty to eighty pounds of pure lead, from one hundred pounds of washed ore. The veins are at sometimes the most flattering, and others they disappear suddenly and totally. They enter the side of the hill and proceed horizontally. Two of them are wrought VOL. II E 58 by the public, the more valuable of which is one hundred yards under the hills. These would employ about sixty labourers to advantage. There are not, however, in general,

Library of Congress

more than forty, and even these find time to cultivate their own corn. The veins have produced sixty tons of lead in a year; the average is from twenty to twenty-five tons. The furnace is a mile from the ore-bank, and on the opposite side of the river. The ore is first conveyed in waggons to the Kenhaway, a distance only a quarter of a mile, then laden on board of canoes and carried across the river, which is there about two hundred yards wide; and then again taken into waggons and carried to the furnace. From the furnace the lead is transported one hundred and thirty miles along a good road, leading through the peaks of Ottie and Lynch's ferry, whence it is carried by water about the same 59 distance to Westham, where it finds its way by James River and the Potomac to the markets of the Eastern States. Very little of the lead ever descends the river in consequence of the falls just below the mines, three of which have, a perpendicular chute of four feet each. Three miles above the mines is a rapid of three miles continuance. Yet the obstructions might be removed for so useful a navigation as to reduce very much the portage to James River, and facilitate the descent to the Ohio, where the mouth is two hundred and eighty yards wide.

The banks of the Great Kenhaway were once the favorite resort and residence of several Indian tribes. The ruins of their little empires every where abound. The towns from which they were banished, and the villages in which they were immolated at the shrine of insatiate avarice, ambition and pride, have yet remains which stand, and will for ever stand to perpetuate the memory of their sufferings and of our crimes.

I visited several monuments of Indian antiquity up the river, and had I not so lately given you ample details on those, I discovered on the Muskingum, I would describe them—and even under this impression would give them notice, but they do not sufficiently differ from what I mentioned, to admit of remarks, without a tiresome tautology and repetition. I cannot leave the river, however, without telling you an old story, which took its origin on this water, and to which I feel satisfied your sensibility will not be denied.

Library of Congress

In the spring of 1774, a robbery and murder were committed on an inhabitant of the frontiers of Virginia, by two Indians of the Shawanee tribe. The neighbouring whites, according to their 61 custom, undertook to punish this outrage in a summary way. Colonel Cresap, a man infamous for his numerous atrocities on this injured people, collected a party, and proceeded down the Kanhaway in quest of Indians. Unfortunately a canoe of women and children, with one man only, was seen coming from the opposite shore unarmed, and unsuspecting an hostile attack from the whites; Cresap and his party concealed themselves on the bank of the river, and the moment the canoe reached the shore, singled out their objects, and at one fire killed every person in it. This happened to be the family of Logan, who had long been distinguished as a friend of the whites. This unworthy return provoked his vengeance. He accordingly signalized himself in the war which ensued. In the autumn of the same year, a decisive battle was fought at the mouth of the Great Kenhaway 62 (in history called the Battle of Point Pleasant) between the collected forces of the Shawanees, Mingoës, and Delawares, and a detachment of the Virginia militia. The Indians were defeated, and sued for peace. Logan, however disdained to be seen among the suppliants. But, least the sincerity of a treaty should be distrusted, from which so distinguished a chief absented himself, he sent by a messenger the following speech to be delivered to Lord Dunmore.

“I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat: if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, “*Logan is the 63 friend of white men!*” I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it: I have killed many: I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbour a thought that mine is the joy of fear!

Library of Congress

Logan never felt fear! He will not turn on his heel to save his life! Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one!"

This affecting story and speech actually delivered before Lord Dunmore while Governor of Virginia, are contained in Mr. Jefferson's *Notes*: the story as a preamble to the speech, which is given 64 as a specimen of Indian eloquence, and may vie with the most pathetic passages in the orations of Demosthenes or a Cicero. The few remains of Logan's tribe now live in a little village near the mouth of the Ohio. I shall certainly visit them on my way down.

I have been much engaged during my rambles here, in ascertaining the number and character of the birds, which are of great variety in this part, and of much brighter plumage than those I noticed at the head waters or in the Eastern States.

Between ninety and an hundred American birds have been described by Catesby, some stationary, others migratory, they are as follow: 65

Birds of the North West Country.

Popular Names. Linnæan Designation.

Tyrant. Field Martin Lanius Tyfannus

Turkey Buzzard Vultur Aura

Bald Eagle Falco Leucocephalus

Sparrow Hawk Falco Sparrerius

Pigeon Hawk Falco Columbarius

Fork-tail Hawk Falco Furcatus

Library of Congress

Fishing Hawk —

Little Owl *Strix Asco*

Paroquet *Psittacus Carolinensis*

Blue Jay *Corvus Cristatus*

Baltimore Bird *Oriolus Baltimorus*

Bastard Baltimore *Oriolus Spurius*

Purple Jackdaw Blackbird *Gracula Guiscula*

Carolina Cuckow *Cuculus Americanus*

White bill Woodpecker *Picus Principalis*

Larger red-crested Wood-pecker *Picus Pileatus*

Red-headed Wood-pecker *Picus Erythrocephalus*

Gold-winged Wood-pecker *Picus Auratus*

Red-bellied Wood-pecker *Picus Carolinus* E 5

66

Smallest-spotted Wood-pecker *Picus Pubescens*

Hairy Wood-pecker *Picus Vilosus*

Yellow-bellied Wood-pecker *Picus Varius*

Nuthatch. Small Nut-hatch *Sitta Europæa*

Library of Congress

King Fisher Alcedo Alcyon

Pine Creeper Certhia Pinus

Humming Bird Trochilus Colubris

Wild Goose Anas Canadensis

Buffel's head Duck Anas Bucephala

Little brown Duck Anas Rustica

White face Zeal Anas Discors

Blue winged Zeal Anas Discors

Summer Duck Anas Sponsa

Blue winged Shoveler —

Round crested Duck Mergus Cucullatus

Pied-bill Dopchick Colymbus Podiceps

Largest crested Heron Ardea Herodea

Crested Bittern Ardea Violacea

Blue Heron. Crane Ardea Cæwlea

Small Bittern Ardea Vircescens

Little white Heron Ardea Æquinoctialus

Library of Congress

Brown Bittern. Indian Hen —

67

Wood Pelican Tantalus Soculator

White Curlew Tantalus Alber

Brown Curlew Tantalus Fuscus

The Chattering Plover Keldee Charadrius Vociferus

Oyster Catcher Hæmatophus Ostragelus

Soree. Rail-bird Rallus Virginianus

Wild Turkey Meleagris Gallopavo

American Partridge. Quail Tetras Virgianus

Pheasant. Mountain Patridge —

Ground Dove Columba Passerina

Pigeon of Passage. Wild Pigeon Columba Migratoria

Turtle Dove Columba Carolinensis

Lark. Sky-Lark Alauda Alpestris

Field Lark Alauda Magna

Red-winged Starling, or Marsh Black-bird —

Fieldfare. Robin Red-breast Turdus Migratorius

Library of Congress

Fox coloured Thrush *Turdus Rufus*

Mocking Bird *Turdus Polygottus*

Little Thrush —

Chatterer *Ampelis Garrulus*

Red Bird. Virginia Nightingale *Loxia Cardenalis*

68

Blue Cross-beak *Loxia Cærulea*

Snow Bird *Emberiza Hyenalis*

Rice Bird *Emberiza Oryzivora*

Painted Finch *Emberiza Ceris*

Blue Linnet *Tarragra Cyanea*

Little Sparrow —

Cowpen Bird —

Towhe Bird *Fringilla Erythrophthalma*

American Goldfinch *Fringilla Tristis*

Purple Finch —

Crested Fly Catcher *Muscicapa Crinita*

Summer Red Bird *Muscicapa Rubra*

Library of Congress

Red Start Muscicapa Ruticila

Cat Bird Muscicapa Caroliniensis

Black-cap Fly Catcher —

Little brown do. —

Red-eyed do. —

Blue Bird Motacilla Sialis

Wren Motacilla Regulus

Yellow-breasted Chat Motacilla Trochelus

Crested Titmouse Parus Becolor

Finch Creeper Parus Americanus

Yellow Rump Parus Virginianus

Hooded Titmouse —

Yellow-throated Creeper —

Yellow Titmouse —

69

American Swallow Hirundo Pelargia

Purple Martin Hirundo Purpurea

Goat Sucker. Great Bat Caprimulgus Europæus

Library of Congress

Whip-poor-will Do. Do.

Besides these, there are the following, which do not exactly come under the heads of the above list.

The Royston Crow *Corvus Cornex*

Crane *Ardea Canadensis*

House Swallow *Hirundo Rustica*

Ground Swallow *Hirundo Reparua*

Greatest Grey Eagle —

Smallest Turkey Buzzard, with a feathered head

Greatest Owl, or Night Hawk

Wet Hawk, which feeds flying

Raven

Water Pelican of the Mississippi, whose pouch holds a peck

Swan

Loon

70

Cormorant

Duck and Mallard, Widgeon, Sheldrarch, or Canvass back Duck

Library of Congress

Blackbird, Ballevot, Sprig Tail

Dy-doppu, or Dopchick

Spoon-billed Duck

Water Witch

Water Pheasant

Maw Bird

Blue Petre

Water Wagtail

Yellow-legged Snipe

Squatting Snipe

Small Plover

Whistling Plover

Woodcock

Red Bird, with black Head, Wings, and Tail.

Brilliant plumage is the principal superiority which any of these birds can claim over those of Europe. Very few of them are remarkable for their song. I know of but two that can be presumed to vie with British warblers—the Mocking 71 Bird and the Virginia Nightingale. On these I shall make a few remarks.

The mocking bird is of the form, but larger than the thrush, and the colours are a mixture, black, white, and grey. What is said of the nightingale by its greatest admirers, is what may with more propriety apply to this bird, who, in a natural state sings with very superior taste. Towards evening, I have heard one begin, softly, reserving its breath to swell certain notes, which, by this means, had a most astonishing effect, and which defies all verbal description. A gentleman residing in London had one of these birds for six years. During the space of a minute, he was heard to imitate the wood-lark, chaffinch, black-bird, thrush, and sparrow. It was also said that he could bark like a dog, and imitate every domestic animal about the house. In this country, I have frequently known the mocking 72 birds so engaged in their mimicry, that it was with much difficulty I could ever obtain an opportunity of hearing their own natural note. Some go so far as to say they have neither favorite note or imitations: this can be denied. Their few natural notes resemble those of the nightingale, and of infinite mellowness and strength. Their song has a greater volume and compass than the nightingale, and they have the faculty of varying all intermediate notes in a succession which is truly delightful. In a word, to make a comparison perfectly intelligible to an English ear; the Virginia nightingale's powers may be compared to the astonishing bravuras of a *Billington* or a *Braham*; those of the natural bird to the fascinating native melodies of a *Mountain* or an *Inclendon*.

73

LETTER XVIII.

Galliopolis, a French Settlement—Historical account of its rise, progress, and fall—its present miserable state.

Galliopolis, State of Ohio, July, 1806.

THE distance from the mouth of the Great Kenhaway being but three miles, I dropt down to this place in about an hour. That time would not be required if the navigation were not interrupted by an island immediately in the middle channel, and several rocks which make

Library of Congress

it necessary to keep the Virginia shore till compelled to row hard across the river to gain the town.

Galliopolis being a French town and settlement which has made considerable noise in the world, I feel myself under a 74 more immediate obligation to give you a correct and historical account of its rise, progress, and fall.

A land speculator who explored this western country a few years ago, took plans of the site of Galliopolis; surveyed two hundred thousand surrounding acres, and submitted his labors on parchment, with all the embellishments of a draftsman, and all the science of a topographer. The site for the town was represented as on a high plane of great extent and beauty, commanding views up, down, and across the river for several miles. Eminences were every where painted out as eligible for the residence of the wealthy, and comfortable secluded spots were marked for the retreat of the more humble and indigent. Long extended and fertile tracts were noted as proper places for the exertion of the most decidedly active and industrious, and waterfalls, cataracts and rapid streams descended 75 and flowed for the benefit of mills, the promotion of commerce, and the diffusion of prosperity and happiness. When these advantages were magnified by the high coloured machinery of hanging woods; ever verdant meads interspersed with clumps of the flowering magnolia and odoriferous catalpa; natural vineyards with purple clusters bending to the ground, and all the other interesting objects incident to sublime landscape, it may well be supposed that the gentlemanapos;s paper plans captivated the sanguine French, and formed an irresistible lure to this celestial paradise. His maps and surveys had marginal notes illustrative of its natural history, and the buffalo, elk, deer, bear, birds, fish and game of every description were stated to abound in such quantity, that for several years man could subsist without any other labour than the healthy and pleasant occupations of hunting and fishing.

Library of Congress

Furnished with testimonies of so flattering a nature, and with credentials of the first authority to the most respectable houses in Paris, he repaired to that capital, and met with all the hospitality and attention to which he was entitled by his manners, intelligence, and introductions. After associating with the great some months, he gave publicity to his views; opened, by permission of Government, a regular land office; exhibited his plans and charts, and offered the lands they expressed for a French crown per acre.

The troubles then existing in France were favorable to his intentions. Those who were compelled to stifle their resentment against the State, were rejoiced at an opportunity to abandon it, and the Government at length tired with the perpetual work of the guillotine, preferred to get rid of the disaffected by emigration, 77 to the labor of compression in dungeons or the effusion of blood.

Numerous emigrants were ready to repair to the extolled territory. Of these a few of the most opulent, liberal and enlightened combined and purchased the speculator's whole right and title, and extinguished all his claim for one hundred thousand and crowns, and of course assumed to themselves the disposition of the lands and the charge of settling them, but without any pecuniary advantage. A proceeding so honourable as this in the proprietors had the most auspicious effect: in a short time five hundred families previously well situated, embarked with the proprietors for the United States, crossed the mountains and descended the river to their new possessions; to "the promised land, flowing with milk and honey, and abounding with all the necessities and luxuries of life."

The lands were distributed among them 78 according to priority of purchase, and where it could with propriety, according to predeliction and choice. Some went to subjugate the forests; some to reside on the river's banks. Some went in pursuit of mill-seats, cataracts and falls, and others contented themselves to look for flowering meadows and aromatic groves. A considerable number remained to settle the town now called Galliopolis.

Library of Congress

Such a body of settlers soon effected a change in the face of nature. A very neat town quickly rose on a delightful plain, and a number of comfortable little houses adorned the best situations along the river. Having brought with them implements of husbandry and seeds of all kinds of fruit and vegetables, from Europe, the colony appeared to flourish to an unprecedented degree, and to extend its fame to the widest bounds. This unexampled character and success was the operation of two years. On the third, 79 the settlers who retired to the back country, and who did not suffer death, came in and reported that the meadows and good lands they went in search of proved no more than swampy intervals between mountains, where man could not exist; and that the mill-seats and water-falls were dry, except during the dissolution of the winter snows, which could only be calculated upon for the short period of about three weeks in the year.

The return of these disappointed speculators alarmed the infant town, and the river settlements spread an apprehension of the want of bread and general distress. Small patches for the gardens and vistas to the water were all the cleared land in the colony, for none had gone to the drudgery of preparing ground, heavily timbered, for the purposes of raising corn or producing the other necessaries, which are the result only of toil and unremitting industry. 80 Unfortunately, too, the settlers were for the most part artisans who had resided all their lives in Paris, Lyons, and other great towns in France. To labor in gloomy woods, and clear for agriculture land crowded with trees several feet in diameter, was a task incompatible with their former habits and views. A contracted system of horticulture, was all they were equal to, and as such a mode could not provide for any supernumerary mouths, the discontented were resolved to return home, and others to proceed to the Eastern States, sell their shares, and resume their ancient professions.

From the sale of the possessions, however, very little trouble arose. On the fourth year, at a time when affairs were progressing, and improvements going on with as much vigour as could be expected from ematiated mechanics and effeminated shop-keepers, a person arrived in the colony, claiming it as his own, and 81 stating that the man who

Library of Congress

sold the property in France was an impostor. To a people already under suffering and disappointment, this was a dreadful blow, that could not be averted, and which involved in its fall the ruin of their hopes and the labor and toil of the four previous years. The new claim was sanctioned by Congress, and a proposition was made to the French to abandon their improvements, or to re-purchase a certain quantity of land adjoining to, and including such improvements, at the rate of two dollars more per acre. Many spurned at this proposition, however fair, and left the country in disgust, while others with large families remained, again purchased and persevered to give the settlement a rise, in despite of disappointment, imposition, calamity, and a host of evils and difficulties which required all the energies of human exertion to avoid and to remove. Such strength of mind and perseverance VOL. II F 82 merited a successful fate, and no doubt would have terminated in a happy issue, but for ponds lying behind and near the town, which often infected the air, and predisposed to fever and ague, even from the commencement of the settlement, but on the fifth year they became so contagious that many died, and several became so seriously alarmed as to throw up their improvements and sell their titles for the little they required for travelling expences to Philadelphia or New York, where they might follow handicraft trades, and procure bread with more ease and security. Those who remained were principally the infirm and the young children: few improvements went on, the place continued rapidly to decline, and is now, at the period of my writing, in a fair way of being restored to nature, and of returning to the gloom of its primitive woods. Several houses are tumbling in: several are shut up; others are burnt down, and the few that are occupied do not strike the mind with an impression that they have long to last. The total number of habitable houses is reduced to nine, about seven more are occupied in the original purchase. Thus I account for sixteen families out of five hundred who came into the country a few years before, big with expectations of felicity, and dreaming of nothing less than perpetual comfort and continued happiness. The sixteen families which persist in remaining are of those who purchased a second time. They vainly imagine to make something of their improvements and await the operation of the ponds with more fortitude and determination than judgment and good sense. They are a most wretched looking

Library of Congress

people: the worst hospital in Europe could not turn out an equal number so capable of proving the great degree of humiliation that human 84 nature is capable of expressing, when under the hands of neglect, disease, and indigence. So wretchedly poor is the place, that a barrel of flour is not to be had in the whole settlement, and in place of their being able to purchase some Indian meal, I have had applications to know whether I had any to exchange for fruit and small produce.

They cultivate, as I have observed, little more than fruit and vegetables, and they depend on the exchange of these for bread and other necessities to be had of boats descending the river. The peaches thrive and multiply so well, that one of the old settlers has procured a still, and makes a brandy which, at a tolerable age, is of a very fine quality. He now contracts for all the peaches of the settlement; makes about four hundred gallons of peach-brandy each season, which he barter for flour, corn, &c. at the rate of one dollar per gallon for the liquor, and 85 then sells out his flour, &c. for chickens, young hogs, and garden produce, with which he supplies at a cheap rate, boats who may stand in need of such things on their passage down the river. I am very much of opinion that were it not for the prospect of bringing the peach-brandy trade into success and a profitable notoriety, Galliopolis town and settlement would be entirely abandoned.

Never was a place chosen, or rather approved of, with less judgment. In the rear of the buildings are a number of pestiferous ponds; the back country is composed of a series of barren ridges and internal lands of dangerous swamp; and the access to the town both by land and water, is so extremely difficult, that mere matter of choice will never conduct to it a visitor, trader, or resident. I am given to understand notwithstanding that some New Englanders have made purchases from the fugitive French at very reduced prices, and intend occupying 86 the farms they deserted. If they put this intention into execution, the settlement may again take an artificial rise, though it is difficult to conceive how the public can a second time be deceived in respect to a spot whose climate and properties have been so much condemned and exposed.

I am very happy to have authority to account for seventy more of the families who arrived from France, and which seventy were of those who left Galliopolis in disguise on the springing up of the new proprietor, who required them to make a new purchase or to quit the premises. Congress, much to its honor, made their case a national one, and has granted them lands lower down the river in lieu of those they had to abandon in this place. They report to their friends that their new grounds are excellent, but that sickness and excess of unaccustomed labor keeps thinning them by no very insensible degrees.

87

LETTER XIX.

Various rivers and creeks—saw-mills—a fine salt—spring and an Indian pottery—Great Sandy Creek—central situation of its mouth—erroneous accounts of Kentucky—corrected—extravagant price of lands—an excursion—vestiges of the remains of a Chief of uncommon size—game—wild hogs—remains of an Indian village—an alarm—explained—wolves hunting their prey.

Mouth of Great Sandy River, July, 1806.

I LEFT Galliopolis with all the sensibility which the fate of its poor inhabitants could inspire.

In my run to this place I passed a very beautiful island, several creeks, and the mouths of the Little and Big Guiandot. The latter river is sixty yards wide at its entrance into the Ohio; is very rapid 88 and may be navigated seventy miles up. They both are on the Virginia shore, as well as Great Sandy river, which is between seventy and eighty yards wide at its mouth, and navigable for loaded bateaux sixty miles, till it reaches falls where saw-mills are erected, and which furnish the best cherry-plank of America, in the greatest abundance. A few miles above the saw-mills a very fine salt-spring has been discovered in the mountains, whose waters are so strong that it is said one hundred gallons could yield one bushel of salt. This spring would in all probability, have remained for ever in

Library of Congress

oblivion, had it not been for the incidental circumstance of a hunter stumbling over a piece of earthen ware sticking in the ground of its vicinity. The piece evincing the remains of an Indian salt-pan, the hunter examined the nearest spring, and found it to be of the quality I have just described. It has 89. been since explored, and an ancient furnace, and many pieces of antique pottery have been brought to light. The spring is not worked. The proprietor of the land being unknown—and the distance to the market considerable.

The discovery of earthen salt-pans strengthen the opinion I before entertained, that the Indians possessed the art of making potter's ware in a higher perfection than is attempted at the present day. They not only manufactured it to resist fire in ordinary culinary purposes, but to make it endure the violence of a furnace; a perpetual ebullition, and the corrosion of mineral salts.

The head waters of this river proceed from the immense chain of the Appilachean mountains, the fountains from the opposite side of which supply rivers that fall into the Mexican and Atlantic F 5 90 oceans. These head waters being guarded by a country nearly inaccessible and terrific to man, is now the uncontroverted domain of wolves, bears, &c. Bears especially inhabit the head of this river in such numbers, that their skins can be had by contract for one dollar each.

Great Sandy is also remarkable for being the boundary where Virginia subsides and Kentucky commences. This commencement is exactly three hundred and thirty-four miles from Pittsburg, seven hundred and sixty-two from the Mississippi, and one hundred and ten from Lexington, the principal town of the Kentucky state.

From the point of land below the mouth of Great Sandy, the view is very extensive. Looking across the Ohio, which is first seen to a considerable distance up and down, the rich and fertile state of Ohio reaches to the north 91 hundreds of miles. To the right, Virginia runs to the Alleghany's base, where it is separated from the eastern American world. To the left lies the state of Kentucky.

Library of Congress

This point of land is eminently situated for a trading town. That denomination is already given to a few wretched huts occupied occasionally by hunters and a few stragglers, undetermined as to their final establishment.

The authors who have given descriptions of Kentuckey, either never saw that State, or only would see a small portion of highly beautiful land which it contains in its centre, sixty miles long by about thirty miles broad. Of that singularly fertile, romantic, and delightful spot, enough, perhaps, has not been said; but of all the remainder of the State, whatever has been wrote or uttered in its favour, must have proceeded from a dangerous ignorance of 92 facts, or a determination to delude and deceive both individuals and the public. I beg of you to judge from this simple survey.

From this place to Lexington, which is one hundred and ten miles, the road is marked on the ridges of mountains to within fifteen miles of that city. From that city again to Limestone, and to Cincinnati, on the Ohio, a distance to each of seventy miles, the roads, with the exception of a few miles, are no more than Buffalo tracts. From the commencement of Kentuckey at Great Sandy, the body of eastern land is entirely mountainous for one hundred square miles. West it is a chain of mountains for an extent of four hundred miles long by fifty broad, on average from the Ohio bank; and the south-side is principally composed of "the Barrens," and the "Great Barren," terms which denote a country so sterile and 93 inhospitable, that neither man nor beast can reside there for want of water. So mountainous is the river shore on the Kentuckey side, that in the distance of five hundred miles, there is not space for the erection of a town of any extent except on the very plain from which I now write, and, in consequence of there being no road along the left bank, travellers are compelled to proceed on the shore of the Ohio State.

After these facts, which no person can deny or controvert, we are left to deplore, that the public should so long have been abused by the dreams of enthusiasts, and the falsehoods of knaves. Several thousands have sacrificed their wealth and prospects in repairing to this "Land of Promise," and to which their attention was led by flowery and enchanting

Library of Congress

fables. Several of these deluded persons, finding on their arrival in the State, that all the good land ⁹⁴ was occupied, or else bore a price entirely beyond their means, had to remain in small interval specks among the mountains, or to purchase portions of the Great Barrens for one shilling per acre, and catch water as they could from the dropping and distended clouds. Others who have come into the State and determined on settling on good lands and a somewhat comfortable neighbourhood, have been often obliged to sink their whole capital in the purchase of a small farm, the produce of which, from the mediocrity of its price at market, could never return the capital, or enable them to do any more than drag on a miserable existence. The price of the lands on the State, taking Lexington for a meridian, are as follows: town lots in Lexington in the market-street, and other popular situations, bear as high a price as any lot in the city of London. Land immediately ⁹⁵ round the town is four hundred dollars per acre; within one mile two hundred; within two or three miles one hundred; five or six miles, from sixty to seventy. A few miles more distant, the price falls to from forty to fifty dollars per acre, and decreases progressively to from thirty to twenty, fifteen, ten, and five, at which price it breaks off at the mountains, where the land bears no price at all. There are circumstances also, which often contribute to set a local enhanced value on landed property. The most fertile part of Kentucky, the very spot yet allowed to be an Eden, is very scarce of water. Land, therefore, which possesses a mill seat capable of acting three months in a year, would fetch a very large sum of money. Salt-springs also, considerably raise the price of land surrounding them.

River bottoms and good places for ⁹⁶ landing, from their scarcity, situation, and superior excellence, have also a higher price attached to them than any other parts not under the same circumstances.

Mr. Gardner, a sensible and civil man, who here keeps a tavern, having explored his neighbourhood in a considerable degree, I tempted him to take an excursion with me. We

Library of Congress

set off by dawn to observe the rising sun from a very high hill, about a mile to the south of the point. The eminence was gained in time to enjoy the finest spectacle in nature.

On the particular spot where I was, I might have remained a long time before I could perceive the various effects of the sun on mountains, woods, valleys, and waters. The height was so great, that I calculated the rays of the sun could not strike the surface of the 97 floods till they darted from the sun's rise of four hours.

Particular views of the river were various and beautiful from where I stood, though interrupted every mile by the sinuosities occasioned by its many windings. I found the time very favorable to form a judgment on the nature of the surrounding country. The sun shining only on the summits of hills, displayed their situation, course, and variety, while the dark intervals pointed out the few valleys and plains which lay commixed between them. The remarks I took accorded precisely with the observations I have made respecting the mountainous State of the country. Nor could I see any part of sufficient extent for a day's excursion, with any tolerable degree of possibility or ease, unless a strip of woodland which formed the Ohio bank, and met with but little obstruction for several miles. 98 I resolved to bend that way, and was about to depart, when Mr. Gardener informed me that on his first coming to the Kenhaway he discovered an Indian grave on the summit on which we stood. He pointed it out to me immediately on the direct summit, but I had them ortification to perceive that it had undergone so rude a violation, that I could distinguish nothing of its original form or character, or any remains, save two or three bones, which, judging by analogy, evinced a man far exceeding ordinary stature. Mr. G. could give me no satisfactory account, either in regard to the contents of the grave, or to the position and appearances of the members of which it was composed: he did not even know the bearings of the head and feet, in short, I understood that the violation was committed by a Kentuckeyan, in quest of plunder, and that Mr. G. did not see the ruin till 99 the deed was done. The instant I understood a Kentuckeyan was concerned, I gave up every enquiry, and contented myself with this other recent evidence, that there formerly existed Indian nations who buried their chiefs on the highest mountain tops, and distant from the living

Library of Congress

and the dead. Perhaps, too, such nations were worshippers of the sun, and by way of continuing to their princes the proud pre-eminence they allowed them in life, exposed their tombs to the first and last rays of their high and mighty luminary. This idea appears better grounded than on mere presumption: at present, however, I cannot back it by any testimony, and the fact is against me, that no Indian tribes east of the Mississippi, have ever in their worship or tradition, held out an evidence that, their ancestors at any time worshipped the sun, or that they considered their tribes ever to have been 100 the descendants of that all powerful body. The subject must remain for elucidation, till the discovery of other data and events.

We proceeded down the hill, and along the strip of level woody bank I traced for our excursion from the summit. We met with excellent sport. Several flocks of wild turkeys crossed us from the mountains to the water side, we killed two fine young birds, and could have killed forty had we been disposed to enter on the commission on unnecessary carnage. We also fell in with a great number of quails, remarkable for their size, and so fat and heavy, that they never attempted flight, but ran and hid themselves among dry leaves and grass, to a very considerable distance from where we at first started them. Independent of what we killed, my dog ran down and caught several, two of which being perfectly 101 white, were to me a great curiosity. The quails of this country are very tractable, soon domesticated, and easily kept to be killed for family use.

Our notice was frequently attracted by a number of hogs ranging in a wild state. They multiply to a great degree, notwithstanding that the wolves have no objection to their flesh, and that panthers consider them as their nicest diet. In this natural state they attain considerable courage and ferocity, to which, perhaps, their multiplication and safety may be attributed. The sows we met with were savage to such a degree that they firmly stood between us and their young, till the latter scampered off and concealed themselves with a skill which baffled the minutest search. When a litter is discovered and attacked by a panther, the old sow stands all the brunt, and maintains a fight of sufficient duration to allow the young 102 to disperse, though often at the expense of her own life. Hogs attract

Library of Congress

so many wild beasts about a house, that Mr. G. has given over keeping any in a domestic way. When he lays up his winter provision, he selects hogs from the wood, and considers their flesh much more delicate than that of home fed pork. Their food in the woods consists generally of acorns, nuts, berries, and roots, and occasionally on vermin, reptiles, and snakes, of which last they are extravagantly fond.

Coming to a fine creek which descended from the mountains, we halted, and made preparations to forward an excellent dinner, and repose during the violent heat of the day. We started again before six, and continued walking through a country interrupted with gullies, ridges, and creeks, till near ten, when we made fires, erected tents, and formed our establishment for the night.

103

The place we had chosen was the site of an old Indian village, as was manifest from the number of mounds and other remains of ancient works extant around us. I turned to rest under my small shed and near a good fire, full of the vague ideas, and wide and wandering notions which the place, situation, and circumstances irresistibly inspired. I slept in the midst of mounds, which some thousands of years before were inhabited by men whose name and history were no longer on the face of the earth, and whose line and offspring I vainly sought for among existing nations. Overcome at length by toil, and weary of fruitless conjectures, I fell into the soundest sleep, and might have remained for hours in that oblivion, had I not been startled up by cries such as we are instructed to believe issue from spirits "confined fast in fire, to howl for ever in regions of eternal night." 104 In an instant we were up and armed. The cry however approached, and increased to an alarming degree; the shrubs rustled, the leaves flew, and the pursuing and the pursued, passed us in apparent hundreds. The whole uproar, however, only was occasioned by a couple of wolves enjoying their nocturnal recreation in the chase of a herd of deer.

They hunt in the stile of the best dogs, but give tongue with less melody. The Indians, who have the first rate dogs, cross the breed with the wolf, and have this purpose effected

Library of Congress

by tying the female dog to a tree, in the haunt of wolves, when she is in season. Roused up again by a din not likely to quit the ears in a short time, we pursued our way to the Kenhaway, and having met with no very particular event, I am again at liberty to conclude.

105

LETTER XX.

Settlement of the French families removed from Galliopolis—their mode of life and domesticated animals—A French rural repast and dance—Navigation to Alexandria—account of the town and its vicinage—Portsmouth—The Sciota river—Chilicothé, principal town of the Ohio State—difficult access to it—The Peckawee Plains—a grand situation for a capital—Antiquities of Chilicothé and barbarous taste of the inhabitants—the Governor, his worthy character—slavery entirely abolished—its beneficial effects—Salt springs—Run to Maysville.

Maysville, or Limestone K'y. July, 1807.

ON leaving the Great Kenhaway, I descended without interruption or stop twenty miles, when I made fast to the right-hand shore, immediately opposite Little Sandy Creek. I brought to for VOL 11. G 106 the purpose of enquiring into the situation of the French families who abandoned Galliopolis in consequence of the imposition practised on them by the vender of the lands, and the ill health they enjoyed while on them. Opposite to the creek I have mentioned, and at the place I landed, is a tract of land of twenty thousand acres, extending eight miles on the river, granted by Congress to these unfortunate settlers a some indemnification for the losses and injuries they had sustained; and four thousand acres adjoining, granted to M. Gervais, one of the principals, for the same purpose. On this latter tract, I understand, M. Gervais laid out a town named Burrsburgh, but it yet has to get an habitation and an inhabitant.

I found the settlers in something better health than at Galliopolis. They dwell altogether along the river bank—They pursue a very mean system of 107 agriculture. Their best

Library of Congress

exertion only extends to a few acres of Indian corn and garden-stuff to meet their rigid necessities. They appear to have no idea of farming or to think, what I conceive perfectly just, that the price of produce is too contemptible to yield an equivalent for the labor and health necessarily wasted in bringing it to growth and maturity. The management of peach-orchards suits their talents and habits, and these they bring to profit and perfection. There are here two peach-distilleries at work, that vend about three thousand gallons of peach brandy, the amount of which furnishes the settlement with coffee, snuff, knives, tin ware, and other small articles in demand among French emigrants. I found the women constantly occupied in making an excellent strong cotton cloth, blue, for the men, and party-coloured for themselves and children. I took a walk 108 down the entire settlement, and was much pleased with the simple and primitive manner of its residents. The day is passed in the coarser industry, the evening sitting in the house, or under the most adjacent shade, the women spinning, sewing, and knitting, the men making and repairing their nets, gins, traps, and the children playing around, and instructing their pet animals. The blue jay arrived at the art of speaking better than any other bird I perceived among them; the paroquet also excelled in speaking; and the summer duck exceeded any thing I ever saw in point of plumage and colour. At one habitation were two beautiful tame deer—one as white as snow, and the other spotted like a leopard. They had each a collar and bell round the neck—went with the cows to pasture in the day time, and returned at the sound of a conch shell to the protection of the house 109 for the night. I considered them such singularly interesting creatures, that I made a proposition to purchase them, but was turned from the intention by the clamour and lamentations of the young people, who would by no means consent to part with their *Julie* and *Eveline*.

Racoons and opossums were common, and as tame as any animals could be. The opossums were not entertained on a mere principle of curiosity and pleasure: they were kept for utility. They bred with great regularity, and were esteemed better eating than a roasting pig—of whose flavour and qualities they strongly partake. I also took notice of a small aboriginal animal, called, the Ground or Indian Hog—whose sensibilities are so

Library of Congress

little refined, that no attention or caresses, can ever force from it a reciprocity of manners, or make it refrain from snapping 110 at the hand extended with its daily food. I was very much alarmed on approaching a house, at the door of which a large cub-bear was hugging a child between his paws, and rolling and tumbling with it on the ground. The mother perceiving my apprehensions, exclaimed, “ *O! Monsieur, ne craignez rien, ils sont bons amis.* ”

It was sun set when I returned to my boat. I found a number of persons directly on the bank above it, assembled to converse with my man and Cuff. The manners of the French towards the Indians, form a complete contrast to those of the Americans. The French are sociable and friendly to them, the Americans rude, distant, and austere. In consequence, the Indians carry on a profitable intercourse with the one, while they studiously avoid, and manifest contempt for the other. The French never receive any injury or outrage 111 from wandering tribes, while the Americans stand in perpetual anxiety, if the Indian hunters are known to be within fifty miles of them. The French comprehending, from the manner I addressed them, that I was not displeased with their appearance about the boat, proposed, with all imaginable *gaieté de coeur* , to sup on the ground, and have a little dance. I entered into their views with a vivacity which shewed them that I took an interest in their pleasures, and I furnished my portion of the intended fete in biscuit, which was of the highest estimation, as the settlement had been for several months without *flour-bread*. The neighbouring houses soon provided their quota of milk, cheese, fruit, and various *viandes* , and three youths with a flute and two violins, were prepared to strike up after the rural repast. Never was supper more cheerful, never was society of so strange a *melange* 112 seated on the banks of *La Belle Rivere*. Old Frenchmen, lively as youth, in large crimson caps; their wives still more animated, dressed in the obsolete times of Louis the XIVth—the youth of both sexes habited *suivant l'usage du pays* and mirthful, as if “fortune smiled upon their birth,” formed the great outlines of the picture, while numbers of the domesticated animals I have mentioned followed their masters, and seemed “to crave their humble dole.” Some without apprehension or restraint, came into the circle, while

Library of Congress

others maintained a cautious distance, and feared to commit themselves to the confidence of man.

Supper over, and the remains carried off, dancing commenced. Old and young at first joined with the utmost demonstrations of felicity and mirth, at length the aged and infirm sat down, while the youth danced cotillions for at least two hours. The dancing was highly graceful, and in as perfect tune and step as if the performers had been the disciples of Vestris. Our festive scene was closed by a performance of Cuff's—he gave us in a grand stile a war, funeral, and marriage dance, which the French had the complaisance to applaud, though the words, “ *quel horreur! quelle abomination! Sacre Dieu! le Sauvage!* ” were tittered from every mouth. At twelve o'clock we separated, and with as many *adieux* and *souvenez vous de moi* as if our intimacy had been for years, and our future friendship to be eternal.

I left the settlement the following morning, much pleased with my visit, and the improved opinion it allowed me to entertain of a people whom I had to commiserate, from the accounts I heard of them at Gallipolis. I sincerely hope that the place may become healthy in time, and admit to their original views some small degree of realization and success.

Twelve miles below the French grant, I came before the Little Sciota, a small rivulet on the same side, from the mouth of which a bar of rocks extends half across the Ohio. The channel at the upper end of the bar is near the Kentucky shore—at the lower end it is close round the rocks. About half a mile lower down I came to another bar, extending more than half across the river. Opposite the bar on the Kentucky shore, I found the water so shallow, that I was apprehensive of striking every moment. Working midway between the point of the bar, and the Kentucky shore, I recovered a good channel, and without sustaining any damage, though for some time my soundings were but from two feet to eighteen inches.

Library of Congress

Running eight miles from the Little I arrived before the Big Sciota, a fine river on the right-hand shore, and dropped under Alexandria, a small town situated on the lower point, formed by the junction of the two rivers. Having secured the boat, I went up to the town, intending to make from it some few excursions. I give you their result, without fatiguing you with their detail.

Alexandria contains about forty houses and three hundred inhabitants, Dutch, Germans, Scotch, and Irish. While it was the seat of justice, and only place of deposit for the merchandize of the extensive settlements of the upper parts of the Sciota, it rose with great rapidity, and held out such demonstrations of success, that numbers settled in the town and neighbourhood, and bought town lots at such an extravagant price and rash avidity, that none 116 remained on the hands of the original proprietors. The building of a courthouse augmented the spirit of speculation and settlement, and all went on to admiration, till the state legislature decreed, that the courts, offices, &c. should be removed across the mouth of the Sciota to a new town called Portsmouth, being a situation more eligible for that purpose, and as a depot for merchandize and produce. In this manner did a stroke of the pen sign the ruin of Alexandria, and all the speculating forestallers of its adjacent lands and lots. A Dutchman, who had purchased a number of excellent building grounds, proposed very seriously to "give me my choice for a strong pair of shoes." So sudden a fall is felt severely by the inhabitants in general; they sunk their means in giving the town a phlethoric rise, and are now without the capacity of removing. They disclaim 117 sadly against the decree of the State Legislature, and say it was ordained to flatter General Massey, who is a member of the State, and proprietor of the township of Portsmouth. On passing over to Portsmouth in my canoe, I heard a more honest and probable story. Alexandria is insulated every spring, and from lying below the mouth of the river, is not calculated for a place of depot or business.

Library of Congress

Portsmouth is in its first infancy. As the citizens of Alexandria must ultimately remove to it or perish, and as it commands numerous advantages, both local and general, it is reasonable to conceive that it must become a place of consequence and resort.

The Sciota is two hundred and fifty yards wide at its mouth, which is in the latitude 38° 22 m and at the Salt-lick towns, two hundred miles above the mouth, it is yet one hundred yards wide. 118 To these towns it is navigable for loaded bateaux, and an eastern branch which it possesses, affords navigation almost to its source in the confines of Canada and the great northern lakes.

The lands immediately on the Sciota, are exceedingly rich and fertile, but subject to inundation, and consequently capable of generating both fever and flux.

Chilicothé, the principal town of the Ohio State, and the seat of Government, lies about sixty miles up the Sciota. Having heard so much of the town and government, I determined on passing a day or two there, and judging for myself. I suffered severely for my curiosity. My route lay through a wilderness so thick, deep, dark, and impenetrable, that the light, much less the air of heaven, was nearly denied access. We were, likewise, almost stung to madness by musketoos. So numerous 119 were these persecutors, that we walked amidst them as in a cloud, and suffered to an excess not possible to describe. On encamping in the evening, I was in hopes the fire would drive them off, but was disappointed; they continued, during the night to hover over their prey, and remained buzzing about our ears, preventing the possibility of repose.

Pursuing my route the next morning, I could discover the cause of such. miriads of musketoos. The great body of the country to a considerable distance west of the Sciota is a wood-swamp, a a quality of land eminently favorable for the insect tribe, noxious reptiles, and inveterate disease. The evening of my second day's journey I arrived at Chilicothé, where I put up at an excellent inn, and soon lost the impression of all my sufferings.

Library of Congress

Chilicothé is in appearance a flourishing 120 little town, containing about one hundred and fifty houses neat and well built, several of them occupied by the servants of the State, such as governor, attorney, solicitor, and surveyor generals, clerks of the treasury, judges of the supreme court, attorneys, &c. I observe it to be in appearance flourishing, because the principal of its rise is more fortuitous than permanent, and must in a year or two vanish entirely away. Like Alexandria, its fate is to be decided by a decree, or state act, which is shortly to fix on a more central situation for the deliberations of the legislature, and for the removal of the officers, and offices of government. When this takes place Chilicothé will be at once abandoned, and the traveller who follows me will hardly find an inhabitant in it to tell him when it rose and how it fell; when it flourished, and by what means it so soon decayed. This premature and 121 speedy ruin must come upon it as well from its being abandoned by the bulk of its present wealthy inhabitants, as from the situation being sickly, and the adjacent country not being so rich as to invite emigrants to settle upon it in any numbers. Why the State Government do not name the Pickawee Plains for the seat of their capital, and the seat of their deliberations; is a matter of surprise. I rode to these plains in about four hours from Chilicothé, and do not conceive that the world entire could furnish so grand, so great, or so sublime a position for a capital or great flourishing town. Though a plain, it inclines gradually from its centre to its side, and commands a view over wood-lands, and meadows of great magnificence and extent. It lies but three miles from the river, and has in its vicinity excellent water and a number of salt-licks. Returning from this ride through some small meadows of great 122 beauty overrun with flowers, I passed through a place called the Old Indian town, the remains of which were too imperfect to merit investigation, and on entering Chilicothé, I found an ancient mound was suffered to remain in the centre of the town both as a monument of former times, and of the taste of the present inhabitants. I was encouraging opinions highly flattering to the citizens who appeared to honor antiquity so much as to build round the base of one of its most interesting subjects, till, on taking the circumference of the mounds, I discovered that they had begun to fill the timber from the sides and summit, and to carry off the mould to fill up holes in the streets, or to throw upon their gardens and cultivated ground. The respect I

Library of Congress

had commenced to entertain for the inhabitants fled before this testimony of the depravity of their taste and vulgarity of their minds. Never did art or nature before accord to 123 a town so beautiful, so antique, or so interesting an ornament. An ornament connected with the history of the remotest times, with men and events no longer known to posterity, and with feelings and circumstances which ought to have endeared it to the heart and made it an object fit for the most sacred contemplation of the mind.

Previously to my ride to the Pickawee's, I waited on the governor (Mr. Tiffin) with a letter recommending me to his attention. I was handed a card which desired my company to dinner on the day of my return. I readily complied and met at his house, nearly all the officers of the State. They were mostly from Eastern America, and of better manners and education than I had for sometime met. The governor, very fortunately for the State, is nothing more than a plain, well informed, honest man. Some out of derision and others out of 124 respect call him a religious character. The latter class have all the honor and justice of the appellation, as no State in the union progresses more in prosperity, or is so distinguished for morals, integrity, and public worth. The simple and sophisticated principles of the governor pervade the whole State.

The first act of the Ohio State legislature, advised by this honest man, was to abate the spirit of the master, and to allow that of the slave to rise from the dust: not to mollify his condition as in other countries by gradual proceedings, but at once to declare him free and independent as themselves, equally entitled to the auspices of heaven, and to the protection of the laws and immunities of their emancipated State. The act immediately destroyed the whole commerce and distinction between master and slave, which was a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting 125 despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. To this benign and humane proceeding may be attributed the rapid prosperity of the State. Many of those who had ardently wished for the regeneration of the negro race came and settled in the province which declared them free; others followed men whose example and probity they admired, and the country possesses an industrious population improved by the moral exercises of

Library of Congress

the body and the mind. Whereas, in the Virginean, Kentuckeyan, Tennessee, and Carolean States, the whole labor of the citizens is to storm, to give a loose to the worst of passions, and get their work performed by exercising a tyranny over others which they stamp with a variety of horrid and painful peculiarities. I also learned while at table, where the conversation led on points on which I expressed a desire of information, that the governor has directed the 126 attention of the legislature to the improvement of the penal code; to the more equal distribution of punishment, and the simplification of the law by casting out all extraneous expressions and matter, and by rejecting every oblete and technical word. The governor's notion is that the people ought to understand the language of an act as well as the lawyers who benefit by its misconceptions and abuse, and that a law, in order to be useful should be simple and uttered in words intelligent to the vulgar and unlettered mind. I conceive that this conduct will be followed by a very salutary effect. It certainly promises to be productive of understanding and to the discovery of truth without the interventions of learning or the interference of many heads. The world wanted to see a trial of this enlightened kind; a New years will decide its success, and I sincerely desire it may in the proportions 127 which the intentions of the governor so decidedly merit.

I understood from the gentlemen of our party who had explored the whole State, that the best land lay to the west of Chilicothé; that it was fitted to an incredible degree for all the purposes of agriculture and grazing stock of every kind except sheep, which could not be kept from panthers and wolves that were every where in great numbers. To annihilate this last grievance a premium or recompence is offered by the government for every Panther's skin.

I left the governor instructed and pleased with the time I passed under his plain, yet hospitable roof, and prepared a canoe to descend the Sciota the succeeding morning. With much exertion I got down by the noon of the second day.

The principal salt-springs towards the head waters of the Sciota are the property 128 of the United States. They yield a profit of twenty-five per cent. on capital laid out, and all

Library of Congress

other incidental expences. The remains of a few Indian nations inhabit the head of the river adjoining the lakes, and the banks from the lakes to the Ohio abound with Indian monuments to such a degree, that it is evident they were formerly the favorite resort and residence of numerous tribes.

I left the Sciota with very little regret: the heat, the insects of the vermin annoyed me so much that I was glad to push into the middle of the great current, and pursue my way to the town, at which I arrived in two easy days, run from the Sciota a distance of sixty-two miles, in which I passed three islands and several creeks of no account, except Salt Lick Creek, just above the mouth of which is a town called Vanee Ville, where considerable salt works are carried on, and salt made of a good quality. This creek 129 is on the Kentucky shore. I should also have remarked that ten miles above Maysville the town of Manchester stands on the right hand shore. It is not thriving, though it is pleasantly situated, and commands a delightful and extensive view down the Ohio. Immediately above it is a chain of islands, three in number, well timbered, but lying too low to be occupied by the farmer.

LETTER XXI.

Maysville or Limestone Town—Liberty Town—interior of Kentucky—deceitful prospect—Washington—Mays Lick, a salt-spring—Salt Licks, why so called—the Blue Lick—Millersburgh—Paris.

Maysville, or Limestone Key, July, 1806,

THIS is the oldest and most accustomed landing place in the whole State of VOL. II. H 130 Kentucky, and the termination of the main road from Lexington and other in-interior towns. The distance to Lexington is sixty-three miles, and from Pittsburg four hundred and twenty-five. The creek just above, called Limestone creek, is inconsiderable of itself, but affords in high water a small harbour for boats. The landing is a good one, lying in the bend of the river. The town contains about seventy houses, and supplies accommodation for the storage of goods deposited here before they are received into waggons which

Library of Congress

take them to Lexington, whence they are distributed through the entire State. It would appear from the commanding situation of the town, from its being a place of deposit, and from the excellence of its landing, that it ought to rise into eminence and become a place of mercantile importance, and it possibly would, if nature and circumstances had not otherwise determined. It is seated 131 on the segment of a circle circumscribed to a few acres, cut and intersected by ravines, and bounded by the river in front, and by stupendous mountains in the rear. The town has taken but fifteen years to arrive at the extent of its limits and the acmé of its vigour; and ten more will close the history of its decline and fall. The cause of a declension so rapid is owing to a town being laid off by the State legislature, about a mile above Maysville, in a spacious and pleasant bottom of the Ohio, which possesses the advantages of extent, water and excellent roads into the interior of the country. This new town, called Liberty, is progressing fast. Some of the most active and speculative inhabitants have removed to it from Maysville, and a ship yard under the direction of Messieurs Gallagher is established, which has already turned off the stocks, and launched fit for sea, five vessels, the last of 132 which was a fine ship, of three hundred and fifty tons!

From Limestone, and of course from Liberty, to the mouth of the Ohio and down the Mississippi, loaded boats can go at all seasons, unless in time of ice, without any difficulty, except at the falls and one or two other places. At this period however, and at all times when the water is entirely low, the navigation is excessively tedious.

I have just returned from a tour of ten days into the interior of Kentucky. I give you the substance of it in as few words as possible.

My landlord at Maysville accommodated me with a tolerable good horse, but the hill was so steep at the back of the town, that I had to lead him up it for fear of blowing him in the early part of his journey. Arriving on the summit, I was struck with a prospect which has deceived and deluded many a one before me. It 133 was a plain, thickly settled with excellent well built farm houses, and raising wheat and corn of a strength and luxuriance,

Library of Congress

perhaps unknown to any other country than the opposite Ohio State. This prospect makes a most infatuated impression on these poor emigrants destined for Kentucky, and who for seven hundred miles before had their view intercepted by mountains and chains of mountains, extending through the country, or elevating their heads to the skies. Struck with the beauty and richness of the valley, at length seen, they would think the land of promise at last obtained; bless their fate, and pursue their journey to meet with other chains of mountains, and other endless succession of hills. The mountain descended, I lost sight of the valley, and gained the summit of a ridge which conducted me to Washington, a town four times as large as Maysville, 134 and but four miles' distance from that place.

It appears that Washington was built and rose into magnitude at a period when the Kentuckians, terrified at the warlike spirit and just depredations of the Indians, were afraid to dwell upon the river shores, where canoes could silently arrive in the night and call upon them for a sudden retribution, or inflict upon them a severe revenge! Since that period it has retained its importance, and probably improved, owing to the necessary contraction of Maysville, and the antipathy of the former to the mountain lying between the cultivated grounds and that town.

Mayslick is a salt-spring formerly worked, since abandoned in consequence of the discovery of less feeble waters. It is yet interesting from having been the resort of millions of animals who came there to 135 purify their blood at annual intervals and return to the great barrens, swamps, wildernesses, and cane-breaks, in search of favorite pasture though pregnant with putridity and disease. I amused myself more than an hour in discovering vestiges of facts which occurred in the most remote antiquity. No vegetable whatever grows near the Lick. The soil fit for vegetation being trampled down below the surface, and a blue clay trampled up is perhaps the cause of this phenomenon. At all events it cannot be attributed to the salt and sulphur of the ground; as other grounds are known, saturated with those qualities, to produce vegetation in a rich abundance. In the vicinity of the spring are several holes marked in such a manner as to proclaim at once that they were formed by animals wallowing in them after they had bathed and satiated

Library of Congress

there pass on for the waters of the spring. Some banks in the neighbourhood 136 are hollowed out in a semilunar manner from the action of beasts rubbing against them and carrying off quantities of the earth on their hides, wet, with the view of tempering the mould and forming a coat of mail to resist the stings of wasps and all the armed insect tribe. One of those scooped out hollowed banks appeared like a side of a hill from which one hundred thousand loads of soil might have been carried off, and the height of the waste of the bank by friction was so great that I could not reach it within ten feet, though aided by a pole seven feet long. I admit that some of the upper part might have washed down and given the place a space not required by attrition, but the impression made on the mind from general appearances of the concavity which cannot be described, was favorable to an idea that the concave sweep was made in the bent by animals of uncommon height 137 and magnitude; probably by the mammoth, whose bones have been often found not far distant from the spot. Other substances within the area of the salt ground evince their having been licked and worn by the action of the tongue. It was these indications which induced the first settlers to give the name of salt licks to saline springs. They abound at Mayslick, and are expressed on stones with more precision than on the banks or surface of the impregnated earth, the impressions of which diminish with the encrease of time. The indention on one stone I found to be four inches deep, that is in its greatest concavity, and seven inches wide. On the same rock were several lesser indentions, and on other rocks, after more minute research, I discovered several more concavities, both larger and smaller than what I have described. The stone appeared to me to be a blue limestone either impregnated H 5 138 with salt, or receiving it on its surface, from the vapours issuing from the spring, and falling to the earth from incapacity to rise in consequence of its density and weight. To me the taste of sulphur appeared to predominate in the spring more than that of salt; and as the salt water rose and blended with the fresh, it diffused itself in black clouds through the surface and discolored it as far as the salt indulation could extend.

Having made these few remarks, I mounted my horse, and continued the road to Lexington, till I arrived at a place called the Blue lick, both from the colour of the stone

Library of Congress

and the clay brought to the surface by the constant trampling of the thousands of animals which formerly frequented the springs. Here also vegetation entirely ceases. The blue springs are now in operation; the water has not much strength; nine hundred gallons are required to make a bushel of salt, the 139 price of which at the furnace is two dollars and a half. The indications of rolling in the mire, attrition of banks, and indentions in rocks, from licking their surface, are more numerous at the Blue than at Mayslick; and an old settler informed me, that on searching for the best fountains of salt, bones were discovered, which required from four to six men to remove. One entire *defence*, or Mammoth's horn was raised up and lay on the bank till knocked to pieces by persons coming along and who wished to *find out what it was*.

I pursued my journey for the remainder of the day without any particular occurrence to divert my attention till I arrived late in the evening at a little town called Millersburgh, where I proposed passing the night. Millersburgh is thirty-seven miles from Limestone, and the road, without any essential exception, is a mere buffalo track, following skillfully the ridges of hills and mountains, to avoid deep ravines and swamps, which occasionally occupy the few interstices and intervals which lie between them. Nothing like a plain did I see the whole day, save what I noticed in the morning, or any other prospect whatever, than one mighty scene of endless mountains covered with ponderous and gloomy wood. I did not even meet with so much interval land as could suffice a single farm, and had I not refreshed at the Licks, I might have fasted till my arrival at the town. And yet that part of the country is described by Imley and others, as a lawn producing shrubs and flowers, and fit for the abode of gods instead of man. Had such writers been aware that their romance might occasion miseries in real life, I am willing to think that they would have controuled the fancy which produced it, 141 and have given the world plain and useful truths, which would have served the unfortunate emigrant as a faithful and honest guide, in the place of offering him flattering and fallacious images, the pursuit of which winds up his history of calamity, disappointment, and destruction; and he discovers the nature of romance at the price of his happiness and fortune.

Library of Congress

After passing the night very uncomfortably at Millersburgh, a complete *Kentucky inn*, I next morning set out and rode to Paris, which was but eight miles from Millersburgh, to breakfast, and had to notice a vast amelioration in the land, and a sensible disposition in the mountains to subside into plains and valleys of greater range and extent than any I had hitherto seen in the State. The ground about Paris, notwithstanding, was broken with several hills, and the town itself stood on the high bank 142 of a considerable creek, which gave the face of the country a still more interrupted appearance. On the whole, the situation was beautiful and highly advantageous, as the creek supplied falls for two mills, and water of a good quality for domestic and other purposes. Paris contains about one hundred and fifty houses, and, being the county town of Bourbon, has a court-house and other offices of justice. When I rode up to the inn, a *negro girl* took my horse to the stable, and said she was hostler!

I arrived at Paris at so early an hour that few of the family were stirring, and no breakfast appeared likely to be had for some time. This reminded me of a very disagreeable custom prevailing all through America. No individual traveller can get breakfast, dinner, or supper, at times of his own choosing. He must wait for the family hours, and till all the strangers assemble and sit 143 down together. Those who arrive after this species of public breakfast, have to wait for dinner, and such as miss the dinner hour must fast till night. They have other customs calculated also to annoy; for instance, on entering the Paris inn, I expressed a wish to have breakfast as soon as possible, I had to reach Lexington to dinner. And to expedite the breakfast, I begged to have nothing prepared but tea or coffee. These instructions availed me nothing. Children were dispatched after fowls which took to the gardens and fields, in vain to prolong their minutes, which were numbered, they were caught, plucked, and put on the fire, part of which was previously occupied baking bread, frying ham, &c. &c. After the expiration of two hours, a table was set out with knives, forks, pickles, &c. &c. covered with several dishes of cold and hot meat, while the tea was held at a 144 distance, to be handed at intervals *for drink*. I made my breakfast on tea and heavy hot bricks, and could not resist telling the landlady that she would have

Library of Congress

spared herself much trouble and given me much time, had she made but a cup of tea in the first instance. She observed, that might be, but that she was always *used* to do as she had done, and altered her ways for nobody. I asked her what was to pay, and cast a dollar upon the table, enraged at the low state of some minds, their attachment to wrong, and determination to persist in evil and dull habits, which they know to be adverse to their prosperity and improvement. She took up the dollar, and pitching it to a negro, desired him to *chop it*. "Chop it! ma'am, I want it changed." She made no reply, but, going to the man, desired him to *chop* out of the dollar one quarter and one eighth; in other words, to cut out her 145 charge of one shilling and threepence for my breakfast, and ninepence for my horse. The man did this with great dexterity, and returned me the dollar with nearly one fourth cut out, with an angle running to the middle, which gave it the appearance of three fourths of a circle. Learning that this was the legal mode of procuring change, I got the same dexterous person to transform a couple more dollars with his chissel, into quarters, eighths, and sixteenths. He executed that service in a few moments; I received a handful of small change, which I found of advantage on the road.

Supplied with change and fresh information, I left Paris, and arrived at Lexington, through a country for the most part fertile, and cultivated in the proportion of one enclosed acre to one thousand waste. A very great proportion in favor of agriculture above any 146 part I have seen since my descent of the river, or since my arrival on the west side of the Alleghany mountains. Farewell, I shall resume this route in my next.

LETTER XXII.

Lexington described—Churches—University—Amusements—Concerts and balls—The inhabitants, male and female—Trade—The merchants, their great wealth—The market—Expence of boarding—The town likely to decrease—climate—fevers—their causes—soil—farms, produce, &c.—A catacomb with mummies—manner of embalming

Maysville, or Limestone, July, 1806.

Library of Congress

LEXINGTON stands in that portion of the state of Kentucky which has 147 been so celebrated for its excessive fertility, pre-eminent beauty, and abundant advantages. It is the most flourishing and with but one exception, the largest inland town in the United States. The site is a valley running between the rise of grounds, which undulate like the sea, and subside into plains whose inclination is merely sufficient to cast off the waters without confining the circulation of air or circumscribing the prospect around. No situation could be more favorable, except for the absence of water.

The town is composed of upwards of three hundred houses ranged into streets intersecting each other at right angles. They are principally built of brick, in a handsome modern manner, and many of them are furnished with some pretensions to European elegance. The public buildings consist of a University, Court-house, Market, Hall, 148 Bank, and four Churches, if they can be so called, one Lutheran, one Presbyterian, and two sects of Methodists. The inhabitants shew demonstrations of civilization; but at particular times, on Sundays and market-days they give a loose to their dispositions, and exhibit many traits that should exclusively belong to untutored savages. Their churches have never been finished, and they have all the glass struck out by boys in the day, and the inside torn up by rogues and prostitutes who frequent them at night.

The university is a good brick building, supported by public bounty, elumosinary collections, and private munificence. Some gentlemen in London have furnished it with books and mathematical instruments. It has a principal, two Latin and Greek, and one English and Mathematical Professor. These gentlemen are appointed by the governors of the university, who are the head 149 officers of state and citizens of the town of Lexington. The university is not calculated to lodge the scholars who frequent it; they amount to one hundred, and are boarded in the town for sixteen pounds each per annum, washing and lodging inclusive. The course of study and the plan of the university is after the manner of a good English grammar school, and turns out young men, who are far from being contemptible scholars.

Library of Congress

The prevailing individual amusements of Lexington are drinking and gambling, at billiards and cards. Every idle hour is spent at taverns and billiard-rooms. The public amusements consist of concerts and balls, which are well attended, and by a company not expected to be seen on a transmontane state. The ladies express in their appearance and manners a vast superiority over the men. They are in general better educated, and by leading 150 a temperate life of serene repose, they preserve a tranquil and healthy appearance, which the men forfeit at an early period, by a propensity to drinking, and by abandoning themselves at all times to turbulent and unruly passions. The women are fair and florid—many of them might be considered as rude beauties, but none of them have any pretensions to that chaste and elegant form of person and countenance which distinguish our country women and other ladies of Europe. The absence of that irresistible grace and expression may be attributed to their distance from improved society, and to the savage taste and vulgarity of the men.

A small party of rich citizens are endeavouring to withdraw themselves from the multitude, or to draw a line of distinction between themselves as *gens comme il faut* and the *canaille*. The public at large conceive this a dangerous 151 innovation; they wish men to continue all vagrants alike, and fear that the light of a few characters distinguished by a superiority of virtue and integrity, will exhibit general deformity in stronger colours, and tender public vice more great and flagitious than what their conduct could wish it to appear. The present better sort of persons consist of six or eight families, who live in a handsome manner, keep livery servants, and admit no persons to their table of vulgar manners or suspicious character. As wealth encreases in Kentucky, *the line of distinction* will extend through Lexington to the minor commercial towns, and may possibly pervade the country after a lapse of some centuries.

The principal business of the town and state is conducted by the heads of the houses emancipated from the vulgar bondage of the people. That business 152 consists of ordering immense quantities of goods from Philadelphia and Baltimore, and in bartering

Library of Congress

the same through the State for produce, which they forward to Frankfort and Lanesville by land, and from thence to New Orleans by water. The goods are all British of every kind, and the produce taken in exchange consists of flour, corn, hemp, flax, cotton, tobacco, ginsang, &c. and of live hogs, pork, hams, and bacon. The merchants of Lexington not only supply their own state, but that of Tenasse, which lies to the southward of them, and part of the Indian territory, which lies to the north. In consequence they are becoming extremely wealthy, possessing from fifteen to forty thousand dollars a year, and are instrumental to the dissemination of wealth in the town, and all the collateral state settlements.

The market is abundantly supplied 151 with every article of provision, found in the first markets of Europe, except fish; I cannot give you a better idea of its cheapness, than by stating certain demands of publicans and others. The highest taverns charge half a dollar a day for lodging and three repasts, each of which consists of a profusion of meat and game, with vegetables of various sorts. The morning and evening meal has in addition, coffee and tea, which are handed when called for, being considered as no more than auxiliaries to the feast. Inferior taverns find every accommodation for two dollars a week, and bording houses furnish the same from fifty to one hundred dollars per year.

Under these considerations it might be conceived, that Lexington must become a place of magnitude and importance. There are, however, circumstances which refuse encouragement to 152 such an idea. The State of Kentucky is not likely to encrease in population. I may even be nearer to truth in the assertion, that its numbers will decrease and rapidly decline. There was a time when its reputation was so great, that the stream of emigration set into it from the East, and deposited here the riches and the people of numerous provinces. This people and others brought into the West by the same flood, in the process of a few years explored other regions, and opened avenues to other countries and climes more generally fertile and capable of supplying the comforts and necessities of life. Many have gone North to the Ohio, some North and West to the Indian territory, and thousands have passed to the South, to people the Tinasse, and the remote forests of

Library of Congress

Louisiana. This spirit of emigration still prevailing, it is evident that the town and state are no longer susceptible of rising into eminence, and that their decline and degeneracy in wealth are reasonably to be apprehended.

In regard to the climate, the winter is mild; snow and frost seldom continue above three or four weeks; the spring is dry, interrupted only by the necessary refreshment of occasional showers; the summer is not violently hot, being tempered by a perpetual breeze; and the autumn is distinguished by the name of the Second Summer. Controuled by these facts, the public cry is that Kentucky *must* be healthy, that, enjoying such a climate, it cannot be otherwise, and that no country of the globe can boast such salubrity and such an atmosphere. It is my misfortune to have to dispute and to deny these facts—which I too wished to cherish, but which vanish before investigation and enquiry. A spring, summer, and fall fever regularly visits the town of Lexington, and every settlement of the State; and at the moment I was in Lexington a malignant disease raged with such violence at the town of Frankfort, but twenty-four miles distant, that all intercourse and communication between that town and country were suspended and cut off. Louisville, another town on the Ohio, has lost all its original settlers in the period of ten years; and every other town and portion of the State are affected with periodical complaints.

On reflection and conviction of the charms of the seasons, I am forced into the opinion that the climate itself is healthy, but subject to corruption from local circumstances and mephitic vapour, introduced into the atmosphere from the southern and western swamps and stagnated waters. There is nothing more common in Kentucky in the fine seasons than to meet with bodies of warm air, which, though they pass rapidly by, very forcibly strike the senses. Their heat is considerably beyond that of the human body. They have been calculated to be about twenty or thirty feet diameter horizontally. Of their height there is no experience, but probably they are globular volumes rolled along with the wind, and generated in the cypress swamps of the corrupt provinces of Louisiana. They are most frequent at sun-set, rare in the middle parts of the day, and hardly ever met with in the morning. That they are noxious there can be but little doubt, from their oppressive

Library of Congress

heat, and the languor they cause in those whom they strike, and on whose habitations they sometimes tarry. Their motion is very sluggish except when accelerated by winds, at which times they move with so much velocity as not to afford time to the most sensible thermometer to seize their temperature. To these two causes, local corruptions and disease imported in large volumes of contagious air, I am inclined to attribute the unhealthiness of the country.

Lexington was formerly the capital of the State. That title has been transferred to Frankfort, in consequence, I presume, of that town standing on the head of the navigation of a river of the same name. From the dreadful periodical sickness of that town the legislature is again expected to return to Lexington, where a large court house is now building, and some other public works going on. If this event does take place, it will add considerably to the consequence of the town, by augmenting its population and encreasing its opulence.

The soil round Lexington is from one to thirty feet deep—the bottom throughout the whole State a solid bed of limestone. The beds of creeks and streams are solid limestone; and the Kentucky river runs through a natural canal, whose perpendicular sides of one hundred feet high are composed of limestone rock. The farms in the vicinity of Lexington are very neat, and many of them affect the English manner. The produce is great, the price low. Flour three dollars per barrel—Corn one shilling per bushel. The distribution of water is very unequal through the State. The greatest part of the farms have none but what they procure from wells cut through the limestone rock, several feet thick, and through strata of clay and gravel of infinite hard labor. The wells, in general, descend sixty feet. Gardens produce with great and excellent abundance. Melons, cucumbers, &c. grow in the open air, without manure or attention. Grapes cluster in the woods, and peaches and pomgranates flourish in the corn fields.

158

Lexington stands nearly on the site of an old Indian town, which must have been of great extent and magnificence, as is amply evinced by the wide range of its circumvallatory

Library of Congress

works, and the quantity of ground it once occupied. Time, and the more destructive ravage of man, have nearly levelled these remains of former greatness with the dust, and would possibly allow them to sink into an entire oblivion, were they not connected with a catacomb, formed in the bowels of the limestone rock, about fifteen feet below the surface of the earth, and lying adjacent to the town of Lexington! This grand object, so novel and extraordinary in America, was discovered about twenty years ago by some of the first settlers, whose curiosity was excited by something remarkable in the character of stones which struck their attention while hunting in the woods. They removed these stones, and came 159 to others of singular workmanship; the removal of which laid open the mouth of a cave—deep, gloomy, and terrific. With augmented numbers, and provided with cordage and light, they descended, and entered without obstruction a spacious apartment; the sides and extreme ends were formed into niches and compartments, and occupied by figures representing men! When alarm subsided, and the sentiment of dismay and surprise permitted further research and enquiry, the figures were found to be Indian mummies, preserved by the art of embalming to great preservation and perfection of state!

Unfortunately for antiquity, science, and every thing else held sacred by the illumined and learned, this inestimable discovery was made at a period when a bloody and inveterate warfare was carried on between the Indians and the whites, and the power of the former I 5 160 was displayed in so formidable a manner, that the latter were filled with terror and a spirit of revenge, which manifested itself both on contemptible and important occasions. Animated by this worthless and detestable spirit, the discoverers of the catacomb delighted to wreak their vengeance even on the Indian dead. They dragged the mummies to the day, tore the bandages open, kicked the bodies into dust, and made a general bonfire of the most antient remains antiquity could boast: of remains respected by many hundred revolving years, held sacred by time, and unsusceptible of corruption, if not visited by profane and violating hands!

What these despoilers did not accomplish, their followers in the course of time took care to effect. I have explored the catacomb, and can bear testimony to the industry and

Library of Congress

determination of the *curious* who resort to it to 161 efface every mark of workmanship, and to destroy every evidence of its intention or original design!—The angles and ornaments of the niches are mutilated; all projections and protuberances are struck off; every mummy removed, and so many fires have been made in the place, either to warm the visitors or to burn up the remains, that the shades, dispositions, and aspects, have been tortured into essential difference and change.

The descent is gradually inclined, without a rapid or flight of stairs.—The width four feet, the height seven.—The passage but six feet long, is a proportion larger, and the catacomb extends one hundred paces by thirty-five. It is about eighteen feet high; the roof represents an irregular vault, and the floor an oblong square nearly level. From the niches and shelvings on the sides, it might be conjectured, that the 162 catacomb could contain in appropriate situations about two thousand mummies. I could never learn the exact quantity it did contain, the answer to my enquiries being “Oh! they burned up and destroyed hundreds.” Nor could I arrive at any knowledge of the fashion, manner, and apparel of the mummies in general, or receive any other information than that “they were well *lapped up* , appeared sound and *red* , and consumed in the fire with a rapidity that baffled all observation and description.”

Not content with such general and traditionary remarks, I employed several hands, and brought to light forty or fifty baskets of rubbish gleaned throughout the vault, both from the sides and from the floor. The dust of the heap was so light, impalpable and pungent, that it rose into the atmosphere and affected the senses so much as to cause 163 effusion of the eyes and sneezing, to a troublesome degree. I still proceeded on a minute investigation, and separated from the general mass, several pieces of human limbs, fragments of bodies, solid, sound, and apparently capable of eternal duration! with much violence they broke into parts, but emitted no dust, or shewed any inclinations to putrization. The impalpable powder arose from the bands and ligatures with which they were bound, the pungency of which denoted their composition to be vegetable matter.

Library of Congress

In a cold state the subjects had no smell whatever, but when submitted to the action of fire they consumed with great violence, emitted no smoke, and diffused an agreeable effluviae which scented the air, but with no particular fragrance to which it could be assimilated.

How these bodies were embalmed, 164 how long preserved; by what nation, and from what people descended, no ideas can be formed, nor any calcution made, but what must result from speculative fancy and wild conjectures. For my part, I am lost in the deepest ignorance. My readings afford me no knowledge; my travels no light. I have neither read, heard nor known of any of the North American Indians who formed catacombs for their dead, or who were acquainted with the art of preservation by embalming. The Egyptians, according to Herodotus, had three methods of embalming; but Diodorus observes, that the ancient Egyptians had a fourth method, of far greater superiority. That manner is not mentioned by Diodorus, it has been extinct three thousand years, and yet I cannot think it presumptuous to conceive that the Indians were acquainted with it, or 165 with a mode of equal virtue and effect.

The Kentuckians assert in the very words of the Greek that the features of the face and the form and appearance of the whole body were so well preserved, that they must have been the exact representations of the living subject. The Indians could not have the art of embalming in the methods made known by Herodotus, because they never could have had the necessary materials—as evidence, let us review the three systems, to which, in Egypt, different prices were attached. In the most esteemed method, they extracted the brains by the nose with a crooked iron, and then poured in drugs: afterwards they opened the body, took out the bowels, washed the inside with palm wine, and having rubbed into it pounded perfumes, filled the cavity with myrrh, cassia, and other spices, and then 166 sewed it up. Afer this they washed the body with nitre, then let it lie seventy days; and having washed it again, bound it up in folds of linen, besmearing it over with gums which they used instead of glue. The relations then took home the body, and enclosing it in the wooden figure of a man, placed it in the catacombs. Another method of embalming

Library of Congress

was, injecting turpentine of cedar with a pipe into the body, without cutting it: they then salted it for seventy days, and afterwards drew out the pipe, which brought along with it the intestines. The nitre dried up the flesh leaving nothing but skin and bones. The third way was only cleansing the inside with salt and water, and salting it for seventy days.

The first of these methods could not have been employed by the Indians for want of palm wine, myrrh, cassia, and other perfumes. The second could not ¹⁶⁷ be that practised by them, as it tended to waste the flesh and preserve the mere skin and bones—and the third is inadmissible, from its incapacity to resist the unremitting destruction and ravages of time.

An argument may be adduced to favor an opinion of the remote antiquity of the Indian mummies, from the entire and complete consupion of their bandages, wrappers, and bands—which on the Egyptian mummies continue to this day in higher preservation than the body they envelop. There is a mummy in an English collection of curiosities, brought from Egypt by the French, and taken from them by one of our privateers, which is remarkable for containing only the head and part of the thigh and leg bones wrapped in folds of fine linen to the consistence of three inches thick. The linen in some parts was as white and perfect as new, and on the legs ¹⁶⁸ there was some appearance of the flesh still remaining, although, from a moderate calculation, it must have been embalmed upwards of two thousand years. It may then again be repeated, that the Indian mummies are of higher antiquity than the Egyptian, as the bandages are consumed on the one though not on the other; except, as I had occasion to remark, that the Indian ligatures were of a substance more susceptible of decay than the Egyptian. But this is a subject of too magnitude variety and diffusion for my purpose. I submit the fact for the consideration of a better judgment and an able pen, and conclude by informing you that I restored every article to the catacomb—save some specimens retained as objects of the first curiosity, and blocking up the entry with the huge stones which originally closed it up, left the spot with the strongest emotions of veneration ¹⁶⁹ and displeasure: veneration for so sublime

Library of Congress

a monument of antiquity, and displeasure against the men whose barbarous and brutal hands reduced it to such a state of waste and desolation.

No other catacomb is known in the State, though barrows abound in various directions.

LETTER XXIII.

Excellent navigation between Limestone and Cincinnati—Augusta—The Little Miami of the Ohio—Columbia—Licking River—Cincinnati—details of this important town—Interesting anecdote of a lady.

170

Cincinnati, State of Ohio, July, 1806.

THE navigation is so very good between Limestone and this town, a distance of sixty-eight miles, that I descended in two short days run, without meeting any obstruction, there being but one island close to the Kentucky shore in the whole course, and I understand that there is no other to be met with for seventy-two miles further down, which leaves a range of one hundred and fifty miles of free navigation—a scope without example in any other of the western waters.

Leaving Limestone seven miles, the first object I came to was Eagle Creek, on the right-hand shore. A little above it on the Kentucky side is a small town called Charles-town, opposite to which place, in the middle of the river is a very large sand-bar, the channel 171 past being on the left-hand shore. Four miles from Eagle, is Bracken Creek on the Kentucky shore. It gives name to the county through which it runs. The county-town is fixed at the mouth of an extensive bottom, and in a very handsome situation. It is yet small, not being long laid out.—Augusta is the name given to it. I am disposed to think very favorably of the taste of the inhabitants from the judicious manner they have cleared the timber of their settlement. They have left on a very fine bank of gradual descent to the water, six rows of stately trees, which form several grand avenues and afford shade from

Library of Congress

the sun without obstructing the breeze or circulation of air. They have also left clumps of trees and small groves in the improvements which have a pleasing effect, and strike the attention more forcibly, as Augusta is the only town on the river which has 172 respected the ornaments of nature or left a single shrub planted by her chaste yet prodigal hand. In all other settlements the predominant rage is to destroy the woods, and what the axe cannot overturn is left to the vigour of fire. This element is applied to a work which mocks the labor of man, and in a short time converts the greatest forests and the richest scenes to a dreary prospect of dissolution and waste.

Between Augusta and the little Miami of the Ohio, a distance of forty-two miles, I met with no circumstance worth relating. The Little Miami of the Ohio is sixty or seventy yards wide at its mouth, is sixty miles to its source, and affords no navigation. The lands on its banks are reckoned among the richest on the continent of America: they lie low, are considerably settled and sell for from three to twenty dollars per 173 acre. The river abounds in fish, runs over a rocky channel, and is as clear as fountain water. Just below the junction of this stream with the Ohio is the town of Columbia, which rose out of the woods a few years ago with great rapidity and promise, and now is on the decline, being sickly and subject to insolation, when the waters of the Miami are backed up the country by the rise of the Ohio in the spring; the current of the Ohio being so impetuous as to hinder the Miami from flowing into the stream.

Directly on turning into Cincinnati, I saw Licking River on the Kentucky shore. It is a large stream navigable for canoes and bateaux, a considerable way up. The town of Newport is situated at the point formed by the junctions of this river with the Ohio.

Cincinnati is opposite the mouth of Licking on the right-hand shore. It is 174 four hundred and ninety-three miles from Pittsburgh, was once the capital of the North Western territory, and is now the largest town of the Ohio State, though not the seat of government; Chillicothe being the capital, and the residence of governor and legislative body. The town consists of about three hundred houses, frame and log built on two plains, the

Library of Congress

higher and the lower, each of which commands a fine view of the opposite shore, the mouth of Licking, the town of Newport, and the Ohio waters for a considerable way both up and down. The public buildings consist of a court-house, prison, and two places of worship; and two printing-presses are established which issue papers once a week. Cincinnati is also the line of communication with the chain of forts extended from Fort Washington to the Westward, and is the principal town in what is called 175 Symmes's Purchase. The garrison end of the town and is now in a state of ruin. A land office for the sale of Congress lands at two dollars per acre is held in the town, and made no less than seventeen thousand contracts the last year, with persons both from Europe and all parts of the United States. So very great and extensive is the character of the portion of the State of which this town is the port and capital, that it absorbs the whole reputation of the country, deprives it of its topographical name, and is distinguished by that of the "Miamis." In Holland, Germany, Ireland, and the remote parts of America, persons intending to emigrate declare that they will go to the "Miamis."

This reputation gives considerable consequence to the town, by adding to its population, and still more by peopling the immense regions of its back VOL. II. K 176 country. These regions are already making rapid advances in agriculture, and as Cincinnati is the emporium, its trade must be considerable, and ultimately great. The commerce at present is conducted by about the keepers of thirty stores, who issue to farmers and settlers all manner of British goods, and foreign and domestic spirits, in return for which, they receive produce which is converted into cash on being forwarded down the river to New Orleans and the West-Indies. The produce is abundant, but simple. It consists chiefly of flour and provisions, in beef, butter, and pork. The prices can hardly be adequate to the labor. Flour is three dollars and a half per barrel. Pork two and a half per cwt; beef two; and butter sixpence per pound. I have no conception how the farmer succeeds. The merchants, however, make an exorbitant profit: those of four years standing, who come 177 with goods obtained at Philadelphia and Baltimore *on credit*, have paid their debts, and now live at their ease.

Library of Congress

Of the society of the town it is difficult to give you a just idea, as from its heterogeneous nature, it does not admit of being described by leading and characteristic features. The town was originally settled by a few of the officers and men of the disbanded western army: they and their offspring are known by certain aristocratic traits, a distinction in living, and a generous hospitality. These were followed by a number of Dutch and Germans, who are remarkable, solely for domestic parsimony, industry, and moral conduct. A body of Irish next settled, and they too have their particular walk in which they exhibit many virtues blended with strange absurdities, the one making them estimable, and the other rendering them ridiculous; the one manifesting itself in acts of humanity, 178 public spirit and benevolence, and the other in duelling, points of honor, ruin, and flagitiousness! To compleat the nations of this population, some French emigrants took up their abode in Cincinnati, and their publicity consists in their introduction of the dance, music, billiards, and the fabric of liquors, sweet-meats and savory patties.

I believe you will allow that until these contrasted materials amalgamate, there is no possibility of predicating any fixed opinion of the society they compose. I am happy notwithstanding to affirm that in general the people of Cincinnati make a favorable impression; they are orderly, decent, sociable, liberal and unassuming, and were I compelled to live in the western country, I would give their town a decided preference. There are among the citizens several gentlemen of integrity, intelligence and worth. Generals Gano and Finley, and Messieurs Dugan 179 and Moore would be respected in the first circles of Europe. I experience from them in my mere quality of stranger, attentions which it would be the blackest ingratitude to forget, and for which they shall ever have my respect and esteem. Nor can I omit telling you that I have been favored with the friendship and notice of Doctor Goforth, a very skilful physician, and a true lover of learning and science. I derive much pleasure, and glean much information from his society. He has lived in the western world twenty years, and employed the beginning of that period in the study of nature, from which he was turned by the scoffs of the vulgar and the ridicule of fools.

Library of Congress

The amusements consist of balls and *amateur* plays, the former of which going to literary and humane purposes, disposes me to consider them both entertaining and good. But I cannot form 180 any judgment, the winter being the season for such spectacles. I have met with several ladies of comeliness, instruction and taste. They are generally tall, slender, and graceful figures, with much animation and expression. Their affability is very pleasing, being at once remote from a vulgar familiarity and a hypocritical restraint. One young lady in particular is an object of general admiration and regard, pity and commiseration. She is a beauty of the first order, of the most exquisite proportion, and inimitable grace, and was instructed at New York in every art fitted to improve the heart and embellish the mind. Her accomplishments gave delight, her conversations wisdom, and her example instruction. So infinite was her excellence, that it put down all competition of beauty and talent, and the town considered their *Clara* as its pride and boast. On a water excursion a few years ago, Clara 181 and a small party were overtaken by a thunder storm. The first flash struck a friend dead at her feet, and the second nearly rent the boat and cast it on a rock from which the remaining party providentially were saved. To the astonishment of all who had known the sensibility and refinement of Clara's mind, she betrayed no horror, uttered no lamentation, and shed no tear! She walked home in silence, and so remains ever since. The flash which deprived her friend of life destroyed her utterance, her hearing, and her speech. It destroyed the faculty of mental feeling, the recollection of the past, and the elegant once instructive Clara, on my introduction to her was a medecian Venus, dumb, deaf, and inimitably beautiful, though entirely insensible and terrifically cold. Her countenance has lost the happy faculty of mental expression, and has assumed a frigid, void, or a constant shew of vacant astonishment 182 distressing to the feeling spectator. In other respects the injury done her senses extends no more, than to the obliteration of all anterior actions to her sufferings. She reads, frequents society, and expresses herself on her fingers, and on paper with great felicity, and with reference to future, but never to past events. The young people of the town of her acquaintance from a spirit of gallantry and attachment have all learned to converse with her on their fingers: with the old and with strangers she is fond of using pen and paper. After my introduction, she made signs for a

Library of Congress

sheet of paper, &c. and wrote with uncommon precision and rapidity a series of questions, leaving blanks for the appropriate answers. I answered the queries which were generally common place, and she wrote one more, which demanded, "I cannot comprehend why a man like you can live on waters and in wildernesses. Do tell 183 me, what is your motive?" "To study nature and to obtain knowledge," was my reply. She paused for a considerable time, and again wrote a number of queries which occupied a conversation of two hours, and struck some bright corruscations from a mind I am happy to find yet lovely, bright, energetic and strong. How strange to think that the entire recollection of the past could be obliterated without impairing the sense of the present and future mode of action and reasoning is a matter of equal novelty and importance. A subject too abstruse to dwell upon yourself, to yourself sensibility and intelligence I commit.

There is a good market held twice a week: the prices of provisions very nearly the same as at Lexington, and at Pittsburg. K 5

184

LETTER XXIV.

Cincinnati—built on the site of an ancient Indian settlement—an astonishing curiosity—other antiquities—fine paintings.

Cincinnati, State of Ohio, July, 1806.

THIS town is situated on the site of an Indian settlement of great extent and antiquity. I had to remark in my last letter, that the modern buildings occupied an upper and lower level or plain; the former Indian ones however were solely confined to the highest lawn, at least no traces of art have ever been discovered on the bottom land next the river, though they abound on that above it, and are so conspicuous as to catch the first range of the eye. Indeed, there is every reason to suppose that at the remote 185 period of the Indian works, the lowest level formed part of the bed of the Ohio. The retreat of the waters is at this hour discernable, and the cultivator often turns up shells, fossils, and petrefactions of

Library of Congress

aquatic substances, which place the fact beyond contradiction. Some of these are marine productions! A petrified lobster's claw; a conch shell, and quantities of fine coral, elegantly wrought and varied by the richest colours! Surely these infer the residence of water at a distant time, and also I conceive they infer that that water must have been salt! If so, what a vast change must the face of nature have undergone! What vicissitudes of climate! What variations of vegetable produce! What contrast in bulk, form, stature, and duration of animal character and life!

The upper level possesses none of those marine productions, but it has disclosed a curiosity which fills me with 186 greater wonder. A gentleman now living close to Cincinnati, on the upper bank, where he built an excellent brick-house, had occasion for a well, and persevered in digging for water, though he met with none at the depth of sixty feet: continuing on, his workmen found themselves at once obstructed by a substance which resisted their labor, though it evidently was not stone. They cleared the surface, and soon made it appear to be the stump of a tree which had been cut down with an axe! The incisions of an axe were perfectly visible, and the chips made by its action lay scattered about its roots! The stump was three feet in diameter and two in perpendicular above its knees. It was nearly of the colour and apparent character of coal, but divested of the friable and fusible quality of that mineral. I have these facts from my very intelligent friend Dr. Goforth, and twenty others of honor and veracity, who saw the 187 chips cast out of the well before the men broke up the body to which they originally adhered. The roots and stump from being turgid, tough, saturated, and in part petrified, took considerable time to remove. Ten feet beneath water sprang up, and the well is now in constant supply and high repute. After the most industrious search, I obtained a piece of the stump and an original chip, which I shall preserve with all the devotion becoming their rank as relics of the most undubitable and remote antiquity. It would occupy volumes to submit the various speculations which traverse the mind, while it indulges in reverie on this wide and multifarious subject. Those which strike me the most forcibly are,—

Library of Congress

1st. That the tree was undoubtedly antediluvian.

2nd. That the river now called the Ohio did not exist anterior to the deluge, in as much as the remains of the tree 188 were found firmly rooted, in their original position, several feet below the bed of that river.

3d. That America was peopled before the flood, as appears from the action of the axe, and the cutting down of the tree.

4th. That the antediluvian Americans were acquainted with the use and properties of iron, of the advantage and knowledge of which the flood deprived their descendants, and from which it would appear that the same flood swept off every individual from whom that knowledge might be derived.

I have said in the first page of this letter that the upper town is erected on the immediate site of an old Indian settlement. There is no such thing as forming an exact opinion as to its antiquity, though a strong

judgment may be formed from the growth of the timber now in bloom, and decay, on many parts of the remaining works. 189 Several trees were found six feet in diameter, and some nine, hollowed out by the assiduity of time from the summit to the base! The remaining Indian works consist of,

1. A barrow or funeral pile.
2. An enclosed or fortified camp.
3. Mounds.

The barrow is seated in the centre of the upper and lower town on the edge of the upper bank. The principal street leading from the water is cut through the barrow, and exposes its strata and remains to every person passing by. Children often amuse themselves in

Library of Congress

undermining the banks, till large quantities fall down in which they search for, and often find arrow points, beads, and many other curiosities. I made a regular search myself, and found the barrow constructed precisely after the manner of that I described to you near the banks of the Muskingum. The dead repose in 190 double horizontal tiers; between each tier are regular layers of sand, flat surfaced stones, gravel and earth. I counted seven tiers, and might have discovered more, but was compelled to desist from the annoyance of the multitude gathering about me. Three out of seven skeletons were in great preservation, and in a progressive state of petrefaction. With the dead were buried their ornaments, arms and utensils, as appears from my having turned up, in less than three hours scrutinizing, my hat full of beads, several arrow points, two stone hatchets, many pieces of pottery, and a flute made of the great bone of the human leg. It is a very curious instrument, with beautifully engraved, or carved figures representing birds, squirrels, and small animals, and perforated holes in the old German manner. When breathed into it it emits tones of great melody, but fails in quick and lively transitions. The modern Indians 191 were found without any instrument of this nature. Such were the objects I obtained, but I am informed by Doctor Goforth, that when the street was formed through the barrow, that a great variety of interesting and valuable relics were brought to light; among which were human grinders, which on a moderate calculation bespoke a man of four times the size of the modern human race, some brass rings, and an ivory image eminently executed, denoting a female figure in the act of pressing a child to her naked bosom.

Having restored the bones and other substances to the barrow and closed up the orifice I had made, I went, full of anxiety and perturbation, which I could neither stifle or conceal, from house to house in pursuit of an image, the material character and description of which differed so essentially from any object ever before discovered in the western world. I was not so successful in my pursuit 192 as to see or procure the image. I obtained, however, some gratification from its history, and a knowledge of the hands in which it is placed. It seems that the Catholics availed themselves of the image, and made it a

Library of Congress

testimony of the antiquity of their religion and the extensive range of their worship by attempting to prove thereby, that the Indian idol was nothing less than a *Madonna and Child*, and that the Roman Catholic religion by the command of God was the first which arose in the earliest Christian age of the east, and the last which set in the west, where it suffered extinctions by a second deluge, of which all allow the traces evidently appear. The exultation of these enthusiasts spread the reputation of the "graven image," far and near, when an officer under the general government descending the Ohio, obtained it by purchase from the proprietor and sent it to Mr. Jefferson, who, 193 no doubt has made a communication to the American Philosophical Society, and whose account I have infinite anxiety to hear.

The account by tradition says, the idol is seven inches high, the figure full length, the costume a robe in numberless folds, well expressed, and the hair displayed in many ringlets. The child naked near the left breast, and the mother's eyes bent on it with a strong expression of affection and endearment. Thus I give you the facts as they came to my knowledge on this extraordinary subject; they are dark and mysterious I allow, and yet I cannot cast on them any illumination.

I next visited the fortified camp which is within five minutes walk of the barrow. It lies close to the well from the bottom of which the remains of the tree was thrown up. Of the camp there is nothing whatever visible but a wall forming 194 a true circle, which contains about three acres of perfectly level ground. The wall is of earth; may be about seven feet high, and twenty broad at its base. On its surface grew several trees, the stumps of which remain, and measure from six to sixteen feet in circumference. The gentleman who sunk the well is the proprietor of the camp, and he has been obliged, for the uniformity of his other improvements, to include segments of the great circle in his garden and enclosed grounds. This necessity is much to be lamented, as it obstructs the *coup d'œil* of the entire work, and predicts in time its complete dissolution. A few years ago it was a correct uninterrupted circle of great beauty and ornament to the town; it is now cut and intersected by walls and fences, but easily made out on looking them over and following the inclination

Library of Congress

of the ring. There is one remarkable circumstance attending this wall, that it 195 has no ditch or dyke on either side; and as it is composed of materials supposed to be brought from the shore, there remains no doubt of its being created with great difficulty, and at the expence of much assiduity and time. This, and numerous other fortified camps, also prove that the Indians of a former period were not wandering tribes, but a people associated under a regular form of government; acquainted with certain laws of nations, and having bounds to their own, which their camps and strong holds shewed a determination to value and to protect. In the Eastern States, where land is sterile and poor, ancient fortifications are rarely met with, and there it is probable a wandering life was preferred to a permanent abode, where existence was to be maintained by perpetual industry and labor.

The mounds are as far from the camp as the camp is from the town. 196 There are two, which are within pistol shot of each other. It appears evident, that the largest of the two was erected for a post of look-out and observation; at least it is so admirably calculated for that purpose, that the Americans, during the Indian war, stationed on it a picquet, and even levelled about twenty feet of its summit. It stands on a plain, is of a spheroidical form sixty feet high, and one hundred and fifty through its longest horizontal base. I am informed by a continental officer who levelled the summit by order of General St. Clair, that the view from the mound was very extensive when in its primitive state. He could see both up and down the river, across to the Kentucky shore, and all the passes in the mountain in the rear of the settlement and camp. He also observed, that the mound run nearly to a spheral point, which circumstance induced General St. Clair to 197 conceive it a barrow of the dead, and when the twenty feet were struck off the top, he attended to examine the substance, but could discover nothing on which to establish his opinion. However indisputably calculated it is for a place of observation, I am strongly inclined to meet the General in his conception, and to believe that the mound was originally intended for the mausoleum of a single chief who lies interred immediately under the stupendous heap. My enquiries have enabled me to determine that there were Western nations who honored their principal Sachem and warrior with separate sepulchres placed on the highest grounds; therefore it cannot be

Library of Congress

rash to consider this the mausoleum of an individual, and also a place of look-out when necessity and circumstances shewed eligible for that intent. The mound adjacent to it, and which is less by twenty degrees, and perfectly 198 round, was certainly a sepulchre. It stands in a part of the plain which is occupied as a race-ground, and the starting-post rises from its centre. When the post was first sunk, the workmen discovered human bones, and after much examination, traced the remains of one skeleton, and no more.

At the back of the town, and near the foot of the hills which lie between the plain and back country, are two more mounds of an, equal size, and about twenty feet high from the centre of their base. I explored one minutely, by cutting a trench from east to west four feet in diameter. At the depth of ten feet I came to some heavy stones, underneath which was a body of composition resembling plaster of Paris. This broke with great difficulty, and exposed a few fragments of a human skeleton extended on a bed of a similar nature with the covering. Determined to ascertain 199 whether the monument was erected in memory of one person, I broke through the bed, and found underneath a stratum of stones, gravel, and earth nearly to the bottom, mixed with bones appertaining to the human frame. The few fragments I carefully collected consisted of one tibia, two pieces of the thigh bone, and the right upper and the left under-jaw. Little observation was necessary to shew that they were not the fragments of the skeleton of an adult! This was a more important fact than I expected to establish, and though my enquiry into the mound was attended with expence and trouble, I considered myself amply recompensed, by proving in the first instance, that mounds in general, are the sepulchres of eminent individuals; and in the second, that the nation who erected the mound in which the child was buried, was governed by a line of hereditary VOL. II. L 200 chiefs, as is evident from the nature and distinction of the interment of an infant, who certainly could not have been an elected chief. That the remains belonged to an infant is clear, both from their diminutive size and want of sockets for the cutting-teeth of either jaw.

Weary of grave-digging, bones, and skeletons, I shall say but two words more on the subject, and then fly to some other. I consider mounds as the tumuli of kings and

Library of Congress

chieftains, and barrows as sepulchres of the vulgar dead. The former were subject to vary in size according to rank of the individual, or the estimation in which he was held; and the latter varied according to the population of the nation, and encreased with number of the interred. Mounds are spherical figures, and barrows are oblong squares. Under particular circumstances, mounds have been made to 201 answer the purpose of a look out, and in consequence, are often found distant from the camp, and commanding the most extensive views; but barrows, from having never received a varied purpose, are constantly discovered in the close vicinity of a town, or adjacent to a fort. There is no greater mistake than that which has so long prevailed, that barrows have been erected on fields of battle, to cover and to distinguish the slain. This opinion arose from the circumstance of arrow-points and other war instruments, being promiscuously found with the bones. It is now well ascertained that such objects, and many others, both of ornament and use, were always interred with the dead to whom they appertained; and the construction of the barrows, the order, strata, and essential difference in the preservation and decay of the skeletons, prove the whole to be the progressive work of 202 numerous years, and not the hasty production of a people lavishing honors on the slain in battle.

The next relic of antiquity in Cincinnati, is a spherical stone, found a few years since on the fall of a large portion of the bank of the river. It is a green stone, twelve inches in every diameter, divided into twelve sides, each side into twelve equal parts, and each part distinguished by characteristic engravings. What these engravings represented, none of my informers could describe. Some told me they were irregular etchings of which nothing could be made, and others affected to see in them the most scientific design, embracing a mystery, the clue of which it was impossible to find. The fate of this beautiful object so interesting to science and the history of former times is not to be traced with the precision to be desired. It is said, that a stranger 203 enamoured with its characters, procured and took it down the river, and that it has since found its way to the federal city, and to the cabinet of arts in Philadelphia.

Library of Congress

From the idea I allow myself to form of it, I conceive the stone to have been formed for astronomical calculation, and to convey a knowledge of the movements of heavenly bodies. When I connect this reasonable conjecture with the facts of brass circles having been found impressed with figures, known in Europe by the term “Eastern,” I am again tempted to believe that a passage was once open between this country and the north of China and the Indies.

You may recollect in a former letter from Marietta, I mentioned the probability of obtaining some further information respecting the pyrite which I found in artificial balls in a fortified camp near the Muskingum, from 204 Colonel Ludlow of this place. He is dead—a circumstance I regret the more, as he had the reputation of possessing the learning of a scholar and the manners of a gentleman. Doctor Goforth, who was his particular friend, tells me, that no person was so well versed in the ancient history of his country, (America) that he sought after subjects of antiquity, and data on which to found certain and irrefragable conclusions, with great ardour and zeal, and that had he lived, he would have given the world his fund of interesting research and philosophic enquiries to beat down the absurdity and errors it had been so long cultivating and acquiring. Accompanied by the Doctor, I went to the late Colonel's country residence, about five miles from town, and had the mortification to find that he had hardly been dead before the women of his household *cleared the house of his rubbish* , 205 and burned his manuscripts and other *useless papers*.

Much of the collection being thrown promiscuously into the yard, my friend and I commenced a search through courts, dung-hills, stables, swineries, dovecots, &c. &c. and had the good fortune to find

The horns of a palmed elk—The strait horns of the American elk—The grinder of a mammoth, weighing seven pounds—and a ball of mineral, weighing twenty pounds.

Library of Congress

The three first objects speak for themselves, the last is a ball of pyrites, which Doctor Goforth remembers the Colonel to have told him he took out of a heap of several hundred which he discovered near an old Indian settlement on the banks of the Little Miami of the Ohio, and that he had also found another heap in an artificial cave on the banks of the Scioto. The Colonel was never heard 206 to express an opinion on the rise or utility of the balls to the Indians, and the Doctor and myself remained equally in the dark, conceiving merely and widely that they were for religious, gymnastic or warlike purposes. The ball we obtained consisted of copper pyrites, or quartz, and on our return to town, Doctor Goforth had the goodness to present me with a very fine piece of calcarious spar with sulphurous pyrites from the Lakes, which makes my specimens more complete and valuable.

I was about to close this letter from a conviction that I had related every thing of interest in the place from which it is dated, till my very intelligent friend, the Doctor, told me that he was often struck with the beauty of some pictures, the property of an acquaintance in the town, and he recommended me strongly to visit them before my departure. I went, and to my great surprize found, in the very 207 mean apartments of a small frame house, inhabited by an old family descended from English origin, the following pictures which I have no doubt are the works of the great painters, whose names I have set after the descriptions.

A Dutch family at a repast— *Vandyke*.

Two Flemish landscapes, including sheep, cows, and other cattle, admirably expressed— *Vandervelt*.

A monk in the act of private devotion— *Anon*.

A nun recluse in her cell— *Anon*.

Group of dancing boys and female *muscecenne*—*Corregio*.

Two naval views; the stile ancient, the ships and costume Roman.

These valuable paintings are in excellent preservation, being executed on copper and oak, except the group of dancing boys, which is on canvass and much worn. L 5

208

LETTER XXV.

An excursion to the country of the Miamis—Lebanon town—Interesting sect of Quakers—continuance of the excursion—Horses of the Western country—State of farming in the neighbourhood.

Cincinnati, Aug. 1806.

AFTER dispatching my last letter to you from hence, I went on an excursion through the celebrated country called the Miamis, which is a portion of the Ohio State, divided into counties, ranges, and townships, in the manner of every other place under the administration of the federal government. Being acquainted with the lands adjoining the Scioto, and as high up as the Pickawee Plains, I limited my view of the 209 Miamis to the territory thus bounded by the Ohio on the south, the mountains of the Lakes on the north, the Little Miami on the east, and the Great Miami and Mad River on the west; and I directed my excursion accordingly.—Furnished with good horses for myself, and Cuff, and a pack-horse for carrying a small tent and provisions, I set off on a north course for a town called Lebanon, thirty miles distant, and lying exactly central between the two Miamis. The first five miles were hilly, but afforded fine rich intervals for farms, and on a creek which I passed, in that distance, were two mills that had done much business that season, and had excellent flour on hand, at four dollars per barrel, and Indian corn meal for one shilling and sixpence per bushel, of the best quality.

For ten miles further on, the land was broken, heavily timbered, and but little 210 cleared. The remaining fifteen miles to Lebanon were nearly the best I ever viewed, and settled

Library of Congress

considerably for so new a country. The farms were numerous, well improved, and the houses and barns on them built with great care and industry.

Lebanon contains about two hundred inhabitants, dwelling in about forty neat log and frame houses. A place of worship and school-house are also erected, and the town in every respect bids fair to prosper and encrease with unprecedented success. Seated in the midst of the finest tract of land in the world, and that tract already thickly settled by a hardy and industrious people, it cannot fail to succeed, if not reduced to a premature ruin by the sudden and violent visitations which have trampled under foot the aspiring hopes of other settlements of the same State. The town is not considered unhealthy, nor is the 211 immediate vicinity poisoned by ponds or swamps. The inhabitants, though few, are composed of several nations, who unite in forming a character of a laborious and religious cast. Their industry is manifest in the extensive improvements and comfortable abodes; all effected within the space of five years, and their religion is displayed in the fashion of their hats and cloaths, but more respectably in their decent and moral conduct. One sect has made itself so conspicuous, that I cannot pass it over in silence.

A number of families, several years ago, withdrew from the Quakers in the Eastern States, in whose tenets they had bred and instructed, and followed a woman, Jemima Wilkinson, whom they accepted as their religious leader, into the Genessee country, soon after its establishment by Sir William Pulteney. Disgusted with the immoral conduct of that woman, several of the principals 212 apostatized a second time, returned to the great towns of the State, promulgated an entirely novel system of religion, recruited their numbers and repaired to the Western country, where they purchased conjointly the fine and extensive tract of land on which Lebanon now stands. This purchase they vested in the hands of an individual who holds it in trust, and for the use of "the poor and humble followers of the Lord," The grand tenet of the society being the renunciation of worldly wealth; the total abandonment of riches, and the strict and rigid adherence to the doctrine of "take up the cross and follow me." In consequence, the individuals of the sect hold nothing as their own, not even the fruit of their labor; every dollar not required by their necessary wants is

Library of Congress

turned over to the person holding the land in trust who is their Treasurer and High-Priest, and in 213 whom every thing is vested as for the service of the Lord. As their present High-Priest has been the principal author of the system, I will give you his proceedings in the literal way they occurred since his coming into the Western country, from which you can learn a correct idea of so singular a society.

On the completion of the purchase he had the whole surveyed and located into sections of six hundred and forty acres, and into half and quarter sections for the use of small families. He then ordered his flock to assemble beyond the boundary of the purchase, where they formerly abjured all worldly wealth, and literally *taking up crosses* prepared for the purpose, followed their leader to the particular sections he had marked for their respective use. The unappropriated sections he disposed of to persons joining the society, by receiving *in trust for the Lord* all their 214 wealth, and by giving them the use of land in proportion to the sacrifice. None of his followers are allowed to live in towns. He settled Lebanon with mechanics and tradesmen for the accommodation of the society, but not as a residence for any of its members. The produce of the sale of town lots, and the profits on all farms he receives into his treasury for the use of the contrite in heart, the meek and lowly followers of the Lord; and that money he disposes of, according to the primitive regulations of the society, in this manner.

He maintains teachers for the instruction of both sexes. He provides them on their marriage with a house, farm, implements of husbandry, cattle, and stock of all kinds, to be held by them in trust for similar benefits to be conferred on their children and those of others. He maintains the sick and 215 supports the needy, and sees that there is no want in the land. His province also extends to the administration of justice, and to the settlement of all private differences without the interference of the public law.

What a strange association! How wild in theory and absurd in practice! must be the cry of every person endowed with sense. To renounce property and still to retain the advantages of riches; to give up all and still to be placed beyond the apprehensions of

Library of Congress

want; to abandon children to the care of providence, and still to find them secured both in instruction and wealth; to lay by nothing against casualties and sickness, and yet to know there is ever aid at hand, are paradoxes which must stagger the mind and reduce it to a state of confusion and unbelief. Astonishing as it may appear, the facts admit of no paradox; experience banishes 216 the necessity even of a philosophic doubt. The society is flourishing to the highest degree! public and individual happiness every where resound; want, misery, and ignorance, are entirely unknown, and the treasury of the High-Priest overflows. Such is the actual state of the society!

They have no particular place of worship. Their law is that God resides and is to be worshipped every where. In order that two or three may be gathered together, they associate according to the situation and convenience of a few families, and receive instruction from whoever present is able and willing to give it. Like the sect near Pittsburg, they affect the stile of little children, and often sit and play on the ground. From this religious exercise they have acquired the name of *Shakers and Tremblers* , which they allow to be a vulgar term of derision, in lieu of 217 their own title, which is no more than the simple one of *The Children*. And where that term might imply infants in fact, they add Children of the Lord. Their High-Priest they call their Leader; he is elected for one year, or during pleasure; and is eligible to be re-elected from year to year; he has the assistance of two persons, the one as an accomptant, and the other as an itinerant, whose duty consists in visiting every settlement, and examining into the conduct, moral and economical, of each individual member, which conduct he reports to his superior, and he, on dissatisfaction, convenes a meeting of the Society, whose vote excludes any person from their sect against whom profanity, idleness, or any species of vice is proved. This vote also excludes the branded person from all participation in the goods of the Lord; and exposes him to the forfeiture of all 218 the funds he might have given their Leader to be at the Lord's disposal. This one law has more force in its operation than all the volumes of penal law now extant. It exercises a compleat dominion over religion and morality, and makes it the decided interest of every person of the sect to pursue an unblemished and

Library of Congress

industrious life. In summer, I should have observed, they meet their Leader on Sundays in some open space shaded by trees, and as they bring provisions and remain long on the ground, the day is spent in the manner of a religious feast.

On leaving Lebanon, I took the Chilicothé road, if that can be called a road which is no more than a path through a wood, the trees marked with an axe to indicate the direction. The first seven or eight miles from Lebanon consisted of remarkably fine wood land checquered with improvements made 219 by "The Children;" the remainder of my day's journey, seventeen miles, to the borders of the Little Miami, was for the most through a forest swamp swarming with snakes and insects, and emitting a sickening and nauseous stench. The soil was deep and black, and cast up flowers of extreme richness and beauty considerably above my horse's head. When population encreases, this swamp will afford the most productive farms in the State. It can be purged and sweetened with very little labor, as it is intersected by creeks and streams in every direction, and needs nothing more than clearing off the heavy timber to give access to wind and sun, and forming drains of communication with the creeks and streams which in their turn communicate with the two Miamis and the Ohio River.

The road is so miry and deep, that I found it impossible to travel above two 220 miles an hour. It was sun-set when I arrived at the Little Miami, on the banks of which, and on a fine open spot to which the air had access, I encamped for the night.

As night advanced, the noise of vermin, reptiles, and insects was so great, particularly the clamour of the great bull-frog, that I felt very little disposition to lie down, though the labour of the day had considerably fatigued me. The uproar which proceeded from the swamp through which I had that day travelled, is undescribable. The voices were too discordant, too numerous, varied and mixed, to submit to verbal description. Let it suffice, that the *din* was horrid and unceasing, and so loud, that it obstructed conversation, and appeared to defy the langour of lassitude to the strong dominion of an oppressive sleep. Nature,

Library of Congress

however, becoming more faint, I got some repose, and lay 221 on a tent of dry leaves till near daylight.

I was not a little surprised to hear immediately on waking, and before there was any strength of dawn, both the warble and the song of the nightingale. I supposed it to proceed from the Virginia red bird, or from the mocking bird, but on attention to the voice minutely and attentively, I found it express more judgment and skill than I ever knew such birds to exercise, and to have all the variation and compass of the real nightingale. I must believe that it was the mocking bird commencing with his own native powers and natural song before he stooped to copy the less exquisite airs of others. He began with a low and timid voice, and prepared for the hymns to nature, by essaying his powers and attaining his organs; by degrees the sound opened and swelled; burst it into vivid flashes; flowed with smooth volability; 222 sunk into murmurs, and shook with rapid and violent articulations, pouring the soft breathings of love, gratitude, or joy from its inmost soul. For fear such continued richness might satiate the ear, the strains were, at intervals, relieved by powers, which shed elevation and dignity through the song.

It is not a little singular too, that like the nightingale this facinating bird chooses the silent hour of night for his chaunt, which heightens the general effect, and hinders any rival or any noise from disturbing the charming and solemn scene. I could not discover the songster; his notes reached me from the opposite side of the stream. The day soon after appeared, and I pursued my journey, after having given the horses a few ears of corn, which were carried on the packhorse for that purpose.

I must stop to observe a great singularity in the character of the horse of the 223 Western country. However wild he may be at his home, and when turned into enclosed pastures, he never wanders from or quits his rider in the woods. He will graze about, and pick up shrubs and provender from the roots of trees, but never loose sight of his camp or the cheering light of its fire. He too is sensible of fear and protection: he trembles in the gloom of the

Library of Congress

woods, and on the most distant howl of the wolf, approaches the fire, and often draws up and looks into the tent of his master!

Determined not to penetrate the woods till the sun had the power of exhalation, I rode along the river bank, which I found extravagantly rich and beautiful. The shrubs and flowers grew to a great size; and, for the first time since my arrival in the country, I met with the *Magnolia Altissima*, which I considered a testimony of a VOL. II. M 224 change of soil and climate, as it requires both of a very prolific nature. Having rode about two hours, the country began to open, and I passed several well-improved plantations; fields teeming with an abundant harvest; houses neatly built, and cattle and stock of an excellent quality grazing in large meadows, the hay of which had been long carried off the ground. I rode up to a cheerful looking farm-house, and met with a very hearty reception from its proprietor, an Englishman, who came into the Miamis on the strength of their high reputation and his dislike to the Eastern States, where he had first settled. During a breakfast, prolonged by a most interesting conversation, I learned from Mr. Digby (so was he called) that the best he could do in the Western country, or that any farmer could do, *was just not to starve*. The price of produce was so low and that of labour so high, 225 that very little profit attended the most laborious exertions of industry. Indian corn, in particular, carried a value so mean, that he never offered to sell it, and for his wheat, he made into flour, he could get but about three dollars per barrel, and even that had, for the most part, to be taken in goods for which he had not always consumption or use. In consequence, he was about to abandon a system so little advantageous, and take to grazing cattle, breeding hogs, and rearing horses, for distant markets and foreign use, where *money* was to be obtained, and profit equal to the extent and importance of the business. He had already reaped the benefit of this plan, having sent his son in the spring of the year with a boat carrying two hundred live hogs to New Orleans, where they sold all round at the rate of twelve dollars per cwt. though they cost him nothing but the expence of the voyage and some 226 small attendance in the woods, where they breed and maintain themselves all the year round.

Library of Congress

Before the winter, Mr. Digby proposes taking a drove of cattle and horses over the mountains, to the great Eastern marts of Baltimore and Philadelphia.

Thus, from the nature of the country, and the tyranny of circumstances, we find an industrious, intelligent, active man, abandons a heavy course of agriculture, and turn his views to a system of farming, from which immense wealth is to be derived, though his nearest market, Baltimore, is at the distance of eleven hundred miles; and New Orleans from sixteen to seventeen hundred!

He did not consider the spot he was on unhealthy, but there were swamps in the rear of his plantation which emitted infectious smells, and caused a nausea when he had occasion to remain in or near them. His fine meadows were 227 wood-swamps till he cleared off the trees and drained them into creeks communicating with the low country and with the river. He has no other fault with the land than that it is too rich—forcing every thing into a stalk like timber, and making the hay so course, that he often destroys the first growth; and only saves the after-grass when a foot high or under. The Indian corn produces one hundred bushels per acre, and grows on a stem of such strength, that cattle, when it spreads its tassel, and has shed and received its farinacious impregnation, are allowed to rove among it without being capable of rendering it any injury. The land must be weakened and reduced by successive and heavy crops of corn, before it be fit for wheat. Put into unreduced land, wheat rambles ten or twelve feet high, and bears little fruit. Fifty and sixty bushels to an acre is a common crop! 228 Vegetables succeed remarkably well, and fruit-trees bear at times in too great profusion, and at other times do not bear at all. The depth of the soil was never ascertained. Where drains were made twelve feet deep, nothing but a rich black mould appeared—a compost of decayed vegetable substance, accumulating some thousand years!

Furnished with this information, and refreshed with a good breakfast, I took leave of Mr. D. and pursued my journey, the particulars of which you will have in my next.

LETTER XXVI.

Dayton town, its fine situation—A snake or snapping tortoise—Timber of this country—The sugar maple—An Indian camp.

Cincinnati, August, 1806.

ON leaving Mr. Digby's, I continued my journey up the Little Miami for about ten miles, when I arrived at some hilly and broken land, which deterred me from pursuing a northern route any longer, especially as I understood that the ground held similar features as high up as the Pickawee Plains, and other prairies with the locality and nature of which I was previously acquainted. Accordingly I bent a west by north course by compass, which I judged would strike the Great Miami near Dayton, a small town lately built on the confluence of that and the Mad River. The distance from the Little Miami, from whence I turned to that part of the Great Miami, for which I made, I conjectured to be between forty-five and sixty miles. The surface in the first instance, swelled into the hills, and sunk into dales of great fertility and richness, and was much more sound and less noxious than that I traversed the preceding day. One particular part contained a greater variety of advantage and beauty than I ever beheld embraced in the same compass.

Entering an opening between the feet of two hills, through which rushed a rapid transparent stream, I had a view of a circular piece of ground so thinly wooded, that the hill by which it was girt was distinctly seen crowned with sumptuous trees, representing a fine amphitheatre, 231 which met the eye in every direction around. The water was visible in many places, and traversed the plain numerous times in search of the *sortie* through which I entered, and through which it dashed with as much exulting violence as if sensible of the liberty it regained. It entered the plain from the north west in which situation it possessed several falls of sufficient power for any over-shot and grist mills. This advantage connected with a variety of others, renders the spot the most eligible imaginable for all the purposes

Library of Congress

of rural economy and contracted desires of primitive life. The plain contains perhaps twelve hundred acres; the land could easily be cleared, the soil a rich black mould, could be cultivated with little labor; from the facility of being drained no offensive vapours could arise and a house seated in the declivity of the hill from which the stream descended M 5 232 in quick and rapid falls, could command an uninterrupted view of an abundant and enchanting prospect.

From the thin state and growth of the wood, there remained no doubt of the plain having been formerly under cultivation. No traces of Indian settlements notwithstanding appeared. I journeyed on for the remainder of the day through a wilderness of melancholy gloom and endless extent.

I stopped to refresh at a fine creek, and while my travelling and faithful companion was occupied in making a fire, I took my gun to range for something for dinner. I had not advanced twenty yards before my dog barked with considerable irritation, and ran round an object which on a nearer approach I discovered to be a snake-tortoise. He was as large as a turtle of sixty pounds weight, and in disposition appeared excessively fierce and mischievous. Whenever 233 he snapt at the dog, which he frequently did with great premeditation and venom, his jaws fell together with much violence and noise. Well convinced that Cuff was acquainted with the natural history of the animal, and all his various attributes, I called him up, and took the dog off, fearful every moment of his loosing his life in so unequal a conflict. I was perfectly right in my conjecture; the Mandanean knew all his habits. While exposed to the dog the creature never presented a vulnerable part; nothing was to be seen but a strong coat of mail, into which he drew his head and legs till prepared to bite, when he prolonged his jaws, or rather neck, which appeared to have great agility, and snapt with a clangour to be heard one hundred yards round. But when the man came up and placed on his back a large flat stone, he exposed his head and feet, and began to move 234 towards the water with more rapidity than I presumed attributable to his nature, or consistent with his magnitude and form. On turning him from the water he seized the stick I made use of in his mouth, and retained his hold, though

Library of Congress

the man and I raised him from the ground in our efforts to disengage it. It appeared that nothing but fire could induce him to move or to quit his hold. I held a fire-brand near his back, and notwithstanding the extraordinary thickness of the shell, his sensibility took an immediate alarm, and he again advanced with much speed and precipitate action. The Indians call this by a name which implies the snapping tortoise, from its remaining perfectly tranquil till the object is within its reach, on which it makes one sudden snap and sinks under water. The weight which the one that was the immediate subject of my investigation carried on his 235 back, was inconceivably great, and still he moved without any apparent embarrassment or difficulty. To turn him on his back was very arduous. He resisted with great power and strong manifestations of despair and passion: turning and snapping at the stick whenever he found it acting as a lever upon him. After being upset he made no further resistance, and died without much struggle. The body was very plump and fine;—I cut from it several steaks, and enjoyed a dinner of exquisite richness and flavor. During the repast I was entertained by the chattering of a flock of paroquets, who had taken up their abode in the trees around me. There were the green and the red neck, that very particular species which are held the most rare in Europe, and which were once highly valued by the Greeks and Romans.

Perfectly refreshed, I again pursued 236 my journey towards the Great Miami, and travelled for four hours over the finest tract of wood land I ever beheld. It was nearly a level, but healthy and dry, in consequence of being intersected by a number of rapid little streams, which carried off rains, and left no ponds for the creation of noxious and putriscent matter. The soil was deep and black, and the following timber grew in great magnitude, beauty, and abundance:—

Maple

Sycamore

Black Mulberry

Library of Congress

White ditto

Black Walnut

White ditto

White Oak

Black ditto

Red ditto

Spanish ditto

Chesnut ditto

Butter Nut

Chesnut

Hickery, three species

Cherry

Buckwood, or Horse Chesnut

Honey Locust

Elm, two species

Cucumber Tree

237

Lynn Tree

Library of Congress

Gum Tree

Iron Wood

Ash, three species

Aspin

Sassafras

Crab Apple Tree

Papaw

Plum Tree, sev. kinds.

Besides these there were nine species of bark, spice, and leather wood bushes; the judus tree, the dog wood, and many others whose names and properties I had not capacity to ascertain. The land in every direction produced vast quantities of grapes of various sorts, and cotton, growing in great perfection, shewed itself to be the natural production of the country. The sugar maple is the most valuable tree for an inland state. One tree can yield about ten pounds of sugar a year, and the labor is very trifling. The sap, which is extracted about February and March, is received in a vessel placed at the foot of a tree, under an incision made for the purpose, and into which a piece of cane is inserted, and through which the sap, on a warm day after a frosty night, often flows in a continued stream for several hours. The collected sap of several trees tapped on the same day, is granulated, by the simple operation of boiling, to a sugar very near equal in flavor and whiteness to the best muscovado.

This valuable tree, like every other valuable gift of nature to this Western world, is hastening to dissolution and decline. In the spring of the year *sugar camps* extend through

Library of Congress

the whole country; and the persons employed give the trees such great and unnecessary wounds that their whole virtue runs out, and they perish perhaps in a season. So violent has been the prodigality of the people of Kentucky, that they have nearly annihilated the maple altogether, by hacking the trees with an axe and 239 never closing the wounds from which they drew the sap, though they well knew that the timber would perish from such treatment. Persons of better regulated minds tap the trees with an augur, insert a cane, draw off the liquor, and then stop up the flowing and the wound, by which means the trees recover their vigour, and afford fresh supplies from three to twelve years.

I soon came up to a small Indian camp of three tents, and a fire already prepared. I alighted, and advanced with affability and confidence to the oldest man of the party, who gave me his hand with much courtesy, and afterwards offered me his pipe with an expression of great kindness. I received it as the calumet of peace, and entered into an alliance of friendship, the violation of which on either side, according to the Indian's own rule, "would be deserving the wrath of the Good 240 Spirit, and the immediate punishment of Heaven."

Having fallen into such excellent company, I resolved to remain among them for the night, and, with permission, I pitched my tent and made my fire immediately in the vicinity of the spring which the Indians had chosen for their camp. I soon discovered that the party I fell in with was a family of the Mingoes—a nation formerly powerful, inhabiting the banks of the Scioto, and now attached to that river, though reduced to the small number of forty-five! The family consisted of a father, a married son and daughter and five of their children, one of which was at the breast, and another but three years old. They manifested no manner of surprise on my arrival, and expressed no curiosity at the sight of the objects with which I was furnished, though they differed so entirely from any they had 241 ever before beheld. Nor was I asked from whence I came; whither I was going; or, any other question whatever. This little appetite to curiosity has exposed almost all Indian nations to the charge of stupidity and insipience of character. Never was charge more ill founded and

Library of Congress

unjust. Their apparent want of curiosity is the result of habit growing out of maxims, and the first instructions of their youth—which tend to suppress idle enquiries.

After a very interesting conversation with Onamo, the head, I retired to rest, and reposed with the utmost peace, security, and confidence.

242

LETTER XXVII.

Dayton—a rich and fine country—Trees, shrubs, & flowers—Humming Birds—Mad River—situation of the inhabitants on its banks—The Great Miami—Hamilton town.

Cincinnati, August, 1806.

NEXT morning, after passing through a delightful range of country, I reached the town of Dayton, which is composed of about forty houses, standing on a point of land formed by the junction of the Mad and the Great Miami Rivers. I put up at an excellent inn, kept by a Dutch family, whom I found well disposed and assiduous in business. The site of the town is more favorable to commerce than to health. On the rise of the Miami, the waters of the Mad River are subject to *back* and to 243 inundate its bank in the vicinity of the town, and consequently to spread the seeds of pestilence and fever. The Inhabitants, principally Dutch and Irish, had lost the florid feature of their own country, and the children looked pale, ematiated, and languid. These unfavorable appearances are entirely to be attributed to the local cause I have mentioned—for the inhabitants of high prairies, or meadows, and of other parts distant from the inundations look perfectly cheerful and as fresh and high complexioned as can be expected in persons, who, for nine months in the year, are in a constant state of copious perspiration, owing as well to the excessive heat of the sun as to the perpetual toil imposed by necessity on all new settlers.

The principal stream of emigration has, for a few years, flowed towards the Mad River. After a variety of 244 folly, disappointment, and error, the unfortunate and the perturbed

Library of Congress

in spirit, have at length found and fixed upon a truly rich and distinguished abode. I rode forty miles up the right bank and returned on the left to Dayton; and must candidly confess, I never beheld a tract of land so favored by nature, and so susceptible of improvement by art. Nearly the whole tract is a chain of prairies partially obscured from each other by groves of magnificent trees, and shrubberies diffusing every species of perfume, and exhibiting the bloom and radiance of every flower. Among the trees the splendid magnolia and tulip are found, and among the shrubs are seen, the althea, arbutus, honey-locust, and various other aromatics. The uncultivated portions of the prairies abound in flowers of such luxuriance and height, that, in riding through, it is often necessary to turn them from the 245 face with the whip; and the general herbage, plants, and flowers, rise to the saddle skirts. The most conspicuous flowers were, the geranium, holy-oak, and passion-flower, to which the sweet pea and many blossoming creepers ran up and closely adhered. These prairies were formerly the favorite resort of buffaloes, but the wanton carnage committed among their droves, has made them retreat and pass indignant to less savage lands. Some few herds of deer still linger in their favorite haunt, and at this season browse in safety under the protection of the pasture which effectually covers them from sight. The little humming birds alone retain their empire over the flowery waste; like bees, they fly from blossom to blossom, nor heed the traveller who stops to admire their burnished plumage and diminutive structure, displaying in their nature the utmost harmony in expression, 246 and the greatest chastity in taste. At the moment they insert their bill into a blossom, and hum with delight and strong manifestations of passion, there is no difficulty in catching them; but the common practice is to shoot them with sand through a trunk gun. They seldom, however, survive; I met but one instance where they brooked the harsh confinement of the cage. In that instance a French lady had several; she fed them with honey impregnated with scents, lodged in a sponge covered with lace, and disguised in forms and colours which imitated the buds and flowers on which she perceived them, in a state of nature most partial to dwell. The little creatures repaid her kindness by the most affecting endearments. On freeing them from the cage they generally roved round her for several turns, and then fondly clustered in her extended hand or breast, in which

Library of Congress

she 247 commonly put some inviting sweets or tempting flowers. She had kept them for fifteen months, during which time they had shewn no disposition to become dull or torpid, though some naturalists alledge, that during the winter season they remain so, suspending themselves by the bill to the bark of a tree; and are awakened into life from that state when the flowers begin to blow, and nature herself assumes the greatest degree of beauty and bloom. There is one fact of more importance, which their existence in particular places proclaims, that is, the fertility of the soil and the salubrity of the climate. They never inhabit swamps or countries exposed to a severity of season. Therefore, in fixing in the Western world, I know no better guide than the humming bird, who is sure to direct to a sound soil, a short winter, and a long delightful spring. VOL. II. N

248

The Mad River; which meanders through this track of country, is remarkable for the fine quality of the water and the great purity of the stream. It received its name in consequence of its perpetual impetuosity, it being the only river in the Western country which does not subside in the summer and fall of the year. All the other rivers owe their great periodical volume to the effusion of ice and mountain snows, whereas, the Mad River issues out of Lake Huron, which affords it an equal supply without variation or end. It abounds with fish, and is so transparent, that they are driven with great facility into nets and snares; and are besides, often speared.

The banks of the river are settling with unparalleled success, and the title of all the adjacent lands is already bought up from Congress by individuals and by speculators, who propose selling 249 again at an advanced price. Most of the prairie-grounds are now as high as from twenty to fifty dollars per acre, and the wood-land adjoining the river, sells at from five to sixteen dollars per acre. I visited at least one hundred farms, and found the inhabitants in the possession of abundance of every common necessary, and every absolute comfort essential to a modest and unassuming life. Nor does their situation or temptations suggest any desires but what may be gratified by the humble means within their reach. There appeared no manner of discontent among them, and no

Library of Congress

material difference of rank or fortune to excite it. You, who have been always accustomed to the refinement of luxury, will scarce be able to conceive how these settlers, with no other clothing than coarse home-made apparel, with no other shelter but a log house constructed with the rudest art, and with no food but of the coarsest kind, and destitute of coffee, tea, wine, and foreign spirits, can enjoy any happiness; and yet, as I observed, to judge from their manners, language, and external appearance, their state may be envied by the wealthy of the most refined nations, because their forgetfulness or ignorance of extravagant desires and vicious pursuits, excludes every wish beyond their present situation, and leaves them virtuous and happy. They are composed of all nations, and live as yet in a kind of native freedom and independence; in a kind of equality of rank which banishes all distinctions but those of age and merit—for the old controul the parochial administration, and the learned govern the legal and ecclesiastical. However, as population encreases, and as towns and villages abound, vice, which appears the propensity of man, will erect its power and call for the influence of the general regulations of the State, and destroy the innocent and primitive characters which now distinguish the republic of the Mad River. Nothing in truth can be more primitive. Justice is administered with decency, but no form; in the open air and on Sunday the people gather together in appointed groves, and silently attend to any person endowed with the grace and talent of instruction.

On returning to Cincinnati, I pursued the Miami to the town of Hamilton for forty miles.

The Great Miami is a very fine river, uninterrupted by falls. Its navigation, as well as that of the Scioto and Muskingum, approaches very near to the navigable waters of the Lakes; and like them, the banks towards the source is furnished with springs, coal mines, white and blue clay, and various metallic and mineral productions. It is about two hundred yards wide at its mouth, and is reduced to thirty at the Pickawee towns, notwithstanding which, it is navigable fifty miles higher up. The portage from its western branch into the

Library of Congress

Miami of Lake Eric, is five miles; that from its eastern branch into Sandusky River, is nine miles.

From Dayton to Hamilton there is an excellent beaten public road, the borders of which are sprinkled with settlements and neat, improved farms. The forest trees and lands were of a very superior quality. Hamilton was a fort and garrison during the Indian war; it is now a smart little town on the banks of the Miami, and does considerable business, in collecting the produce of the settlers of the back country, and giving in return goods of every description, furnished by the merchants of Cincinnati. Hamilton being but thirty 253 miles from this, I reached it in another day's ride, and met with no occurrence worth remarking.

LETTER XXVIII.

Judge Symmes's residence—an elegant mansion in a charming situation—his family, &c.—Indian territory—Big-bone Lick—Grant's Lick, its excellent salt—Nitre, caves, and hills—Frankfort, the capital of Kentucky—Kentucky River—its magnificent banks—Antiquities—Louisville—Passage of the Falls—A terrific scene.

Louisville, Falls of the Ohio, Lat. 38. 8 N. Aug. 1806.

I LEFT Cincinnati with an impression very favorable to its inhabitants, 254 and with a higher opinion of its back country than I entertain of any other. Seven miles below my departure, at a place called the North Bend, I stopped to take breakfast with the hospitable Judge Symmes, the original proprietor, after the extinction of the Indian title, of the whole of the country lying between the two Miamis. The situation which the Judge has chosen for his residence, cannot be equalled for the variety and elegance of its prospects. Improved farms, villages, seats, and the remains of ancient and modern military works, decorate the banks of the finest piece of water in the world, and present themselves to view from the principal apartments of the house, which is a noble stone mansion, erected at great expense, and on a plan which does infinite honor to the artist, and to the taste of the

Library of Congress

proprietor. Differing from other settlers, Mr. Symmes has been 255 studious to give the river-sides a pastoral effect, by preserving woods, planting orchards, and diversifying these with corn-fields, sloping pastures, and every other effect incidental both to an improved and rural life. From this expression of elevated judgment, you may be prepared to know that the proprietor formerly resided in England, and after in New York, where he married his present wife, a lady distinguished by elegance of mind and a general and correct information. They have no children, but there resides with them a Miss Livingston, on whom they fix their affections; and whom they treat with parental kindness and respectful urbanity, the one being due to her intrinsic merit, and the other to her family, which is eminent for birth, property, and talent, in the State of New York.

The judge passes his time in directing N 5 256 his various works, and the ladies read, walk, and attend to numerous birds and animals, which they domesticate, both for entertainment and use. Miss L. is much of a botanist—a practical one. She collects seeds from such plants and flowers as are most conspicuous in the prairies, and cultivates them with care on the banks, and in the vicinity of the house. She is forming a shrubbery also, which will be entirely composed of magnolia, calalpa, papaw, rose and tulip trees, and all others distinguished for blossom and fragrance. In the middle is erected a small Indian temple, where this young lady preserves seeds and plants, and classes specimens of wood which contribute much to her knowledge and entertainment. When the beauties of the fine season fade, and the country becomes somewhat inert and insipid, the judge and the ladies remove to Cincinnati, and revolve 257 in its pleasures till fatigued; when they again return to their rural economy, and to the prosecution of happy and inoffensive designs. I could with great difficulty tear myself from persons so amiable.

Fourteen miles from the North Bend, and twenty-one from Cincinnati, I passed the mouth of the Great Miami; on the right-hand shore from it is the Western boundary of the Ohio State, and the Eastern commencement of the Indian territory, which, in a short time, and with the increase of population, will receive the title of a State and become the brightest star in the galaxy of the Union. The land is for a great part richly wooded, fertile, and

Library of Congress

applicable to all the purposes of agriculture and extensive and productive improvement. The territory is upwards of six hundred miles square, and is thus copiously watered: On the north by the 258 Lakes; on the south by the Ohio; and on the west by the Mississippi. Through it also runs, generally in a south course, the Wabash, the Illinois, and a variety of creeks and streams.

Knowing of no obstacles in the river, and finding it to encrease in grandeur and safety, I determined on floating all night. I met with no alarms or accident, and arrived in the morning early at the Big Bone Lick, thirty-two miles from the Miami.

The salt spring is very weak at the Big Bone Lick. One thousand gallons of water yield but a bushel of salt. About twenty miles back of the Big Bone, is Grant's Lick, one hundred gallons of which make a bushel of salt of a very strong and fine quality. I should think there could be no great difficulty in ascertaining whether the water of Grant's Lick does not issue from a salt rock in its immediate vicinity. It is to 259 be regretted that no person of leisure and intelligence has yet investigated a subject of such public utility and importance; as I make no doubt that at the same springs which are, now worked with little advantage and great labor, water could be found of ten-fold strength, and possibly the rock from which it undoubtedly issues. There are other springs in the neighbourhood of the Big Bone Lick, and through several parts of Kentucky, which are said to be medicinal, and to have the property of relieving various disorders incident to the spring and fall of the year. All that I have met with are strongly impregnated with sulphur, and some so hot as to be within twenty degrees of boiling water. A sulphur spring near the Big Bone Lick turned a dollar black in less than five minutes. Nitre caves, and hills impregnated with nitre, are also common throughout the 260 State, and are worked to great profit, every bushel of earth yielding on an average, three pounds of nitre.

In the course of another day and night's navigation, I dropped forty-four miles lower down, and put into the mouth of the Kentucky River, which gives name to the State it intersects nearly in equal halves. It flows in innumerable meanders, and through a very

Library of Congress

extensive body of good land, except within fifty or more miles of the Ohio, where it is too mountainous for the purposes of a profitable agriculture. It is navigable for loaded boats during a considerable part of the year, upwards of one hundred and fifty miles.

Frankfort, the capital of the State, is situated in the west bank, about seventy miles from its confluence with the Ohio. The legislature and the supreme courts hold their sessions there. The State-house is a large stone building. 261 The situation is so unhealthy, that the town must eventually be abandoned. There is also a mean little town on one side of the confluence, called Williams Port, and another on the other side of equal insignificance. They are subject to periodical inundation, inductive of fever and every species of lassitude and sickness. Were it not for this, the towns would rise into eminence and obtain importance from the growing commerce of the country and the navigation of the river.

The Kentucky is about ninety yards at its mouth. Its banks, or rather precipices, ought to be reckoned among the grandest natural curiosities of the country. There the astonished eye beholds three hundred, and often five hundred feet of solid perpendicular rock, in some parts of lime stone, and in others of fine white marble, chequered with strata of extraordinary beauty and regularity, 262 which gives the river the appearance of an immensely deep and artificial canal, whose rocky banks are crowned with sumptuous cedar, and other trees, of a perpetual verdure.

While exploring the banks, I fell in with some antiquities peculiar to the country. They consist of old forts, not circular like the many I have pointed out, but oblong, and situated on strong well-chosen grounds, and always contiguous to the best landings of the river. When, by whom, and for what purpose thrown up, is, most unfortunately uncertain. They are undoubtedly very ancient, as there is not the least visible difference in the age or size of the timber growing on or within those forts, and that which grows without; and I never yet could obtain any satisfactory tradition respecting them. Doctor Cutler, who has accurately examined the trees in those, forts, and which he 263 thinks, from the

Library of Congress

appearances, are the second growth, is of opinion, that they must have been built upwards of one thousand years. One fact is also clear; they must have been the efforts of a people acquainted with some science, and capable of infinite labor; and it is difficult to conceive how they could be constructed without the use of iron tools and the instruments we are compelled to employ in works of much less magnitude and character. At a small distance from each fort there stands a mound of earth thrown up in the manner of a pyramid.

The water, owing to its low state, beginning to flow in a very sluggish manner, it took two days and two nights to bear me along to Louisville, from which I now write. The distance seventy-seven miles; in which run the river presented nothing very remarkable, though I observed it encrease in breadth, 264 grandeur, and sublimity, and to appear more awful from the height of its banks, and the silence which prevailed from the distance of the habitations of man, and the absence of population and society. I amused myself each day by going ashore with my gun, and walking along for hours together, while the boat dropped down with the stream. I killed several dozen of fine ducks, and one deer, in the act of swimming across the water to elude the pursuit of a wolf that had been long chasing him.

Late in the year and in the spring season the river is covered with wild geese, swans, and ducks of various descriptions. In the summer, and at this season they visit the Lakes, where they breed and bring up their young in great multitudes. One species of duck alone remain permanently on the river, and that is the worst of the whole kind. I killed a few young turkies, which were 265 exquisite in taste and flavor. The shores abound in subjects of speculation and interest. Animal and vegetable petrifications may be picked up nearly at every step, and in the highest state of purity and perfection; so much so, that the characters of each object are distinct and visible, and nothing wanting in the one but scent, softness, and colour, and in the other, the active principle of life. All the waters of the Ohio and of its tributaries are gifted with the powers of petrefaction.

Library of Congress

The first intimation I had of the approach to Louisville was the roaring of the falls, which reached me at the distance of fifteen miles. Four miles farther on gave me a fine view of the town which stands about two miles above the falls on the Kentucky shore. The entire *coup d'œil* is very grand, but the disposition to admire is drowned in the murmur of the waters, and the danger 266 it announces to the mind. As the falls cannot be passed without a pilot and a number of extra hands to govern the helm and the oars, it is always necessary to look out within five or six miles, and pull in for the left shore before there is a possibility of getting into the suction of the fall stream, and from thence into the vortex of the flood. By my not attending to this in time I was very near perishing. The velocity of the water encreased; the uproar of the falls became tremendous, and nothing but the continued and vigorous exertion of the oars saved us from sudden and violent perdition. We rowed one hour across the stream and got into dull water but five minutes before our deaths must have been certain; whereas, had I pulled in on seeing the town, I might have dropped quietly down along the bank, and enjoyed the grandeur and sublimity of the general scene, in the 267 place of experiencing so much labor and apprehension.

Having secured the boat in the mouth, of Bear Grass Creek, I walked up to the town of Louisville, which is situated on a high and level bank of the Ohio, about two hundred poles above the commencement of the rapid descent of the water, and contains about eighty dwellings, besides the court-house of Jefferson county, and other public buildings. The prospect from the town is very extensive, commanding a view up the river, for some distance above what is called Six Mile island; and on the opposite shore, which is the distance of one mile and a quarter, the eye is carried over an extent of level country, terminated by the hills of Silver Creek, which are five miles distant, and down the river to Clarksville, about two miles below.

Here the magnificence of the scene, 268 the grandeur of the falls, the unceasing brawl of the cataract, and the beauty of the surrounding prospect, all contribute to render the place truly delightful, and to impress every man of observation who beholds it with

Library of Congress

ideas of its future importance, till he enquires more minutely, and discovers a character of unhealthiness in the place, which forbids the encouragement of any hope of its permanency or improvement.

A ship yard is erected below the rapids, by the company of Tavascon, Brothers, and James Berthand, the latter of whom now resides here. This certainly is the most eligible place on the river Ohio; and a greater prospect of the advantages of such an establishment now opens, since the vast territory of Louisiana has become the property of the United States.

Louisville is a port of entry. It is about nine hundred and thirteen miles 269 by way of the river and mountains to Philadelphia, and by land about seven hundred. It is seventy miles from Lexington, and forty from Frankfort, in Kentucky, of which State it forms a part, and conducts all its export, which principally consists of the articles before named, and which are taken in exchange for foreign spirits and British goods, brought into the country by the way of Pittsburgh.

The inhabitants are universally addicted to gambling and drinking. The billiard rooms are crowded from morning to night, and often all night through. I am the more concerned to see the prevalence of these vices, as I experience a liberality and attention in the town, which has given me an interest in the general welfare of its people.

I visited the falls of the Ohio on the sand side, and found them occasioned by a ledge of rocks which extend quite 270 across the river, and are hardly to be perceived by the navigator in times of high freshes, unless by the superior velocity of the vessel. When the water is low, as it is at this period, the greater part of the rock becomes visible, and then the passage becomes highly dangerous. There are three channels in the rock through which the water passes. The rapids descend about thirty feet in the length of a mile and a half. The rise of the waters does not exceed twelve or fourteen feet, and has at times sunk to ten inches. A part of the rock remains in the middle of the river, and has never been

Library of Congress

overflowed, though it wastes every day by the constant action of the waters, and attrition of pebble stones cast up by the impetuosity of the current. It commands the settlement of Louisville. The fort, however, is situated at the head of the falls.

A pilot for the safe conduct of 271 boats through those falls, has been regularly appointed by the State; he is answerable for all damages sustained through his neglect or bad management. The prices for pilotage of all kinds are regulated by the same authority.— A light boat can pass at all times when directed by a skilful pilot; and if it should be found necessary to unload at Bear Grass, and re-load below the rapids, the portage is very inconsiderable, being only two miles.

Notwithstanding the low state of the water, and imminent peril of the passage, I determined on taking the chute without farther delay, and lay my boat up below the falls, while I returned to the town, and made a short excursion through the country. I accordingly sent for the head pilot. He informed me that he feared a thunder gust was collecting. The late violent heats, and the prognostics declared by the noise of the VOL. II. O 272 falls, and the vapour suspended over them, were strong portentions of a storm, and made the passage too hazardous to be taken at the pilot's risk. Whenever I have determined on acting, I have not easily been turned from my intentions. This habit or obstinacy made me persist in going, and I told the pilot to prepare immediately, and that I would take the consequences of any loss on my own head. He agreed and repaired to my boat with six additional hands, and I shortly followed him, accompanied by two ladies and gentlemen, who had courage to take the fall out of mere curiosity, notwithstanding the great peril with which the act was allied. We all embarked. The oars were manned with four men each. The pilot and I governed the helm, and my passengers sat on the roof of the boat. A profound silence reigned. A sentiment of awe and terror occupied every mind, and 273 urged the necessity of a fixed and resolute duty. In a few minutes we worked across the eddy and reached the current of the north fall, which hurried us on with an awful swiftness, and made impressions vain to describe. The water soon rushed with a more horrid fury, and seemed to threaten destruction even to the solid rock which opposed its passage in

Library of Congress

the centre of the river, and the terrific and incessant din with which this was accompanied almost overcome and unnerved the heart. At the distance of half a mile a thick mist, like volumes of smoke, rose to the skies, and as we advanced we heard a more sullen noise, which soon after almost stunned our ears. Making as we proceeded the north side, we were struck with the most terrific event and awful scene. The expected thunder burst at once in heavy peals over our heads, and the gust with which it was accompanied 274 raged up the river, and held our boat in agitated suspense on the verge of the precipitating flood. The lightening, too, glanced and flashed on the furious cataract, which rushed down with tremendous fury within sight of the eye. We doubled the most fatal rock, and though the storm encreased to a dreadful degree, we held the boat in the channel, took the *chute*, and following with skilful helm its narrow and winding bed, filled with rocks, and confined by a vortex which appears the residence of death, we floated in uninterrupted water of one calm continued sheet. The instant of taking the fall was certainly sublime and awful. The organs of perception were hurried along, and partook of the turbulence of the roaring water. The powers of recollection were even suspended by the sudden shock; and it was not till after a considerable time that I was enabled to look back 275 and contemplate the sublime horrors of the scene from which I had made so fortunate an escape.

When in smooth water and my mind somewhat collected, I attended to the ladies who had the temerity to honor me with their company through the hazard of the falls. I found them in a very exhausted state. The thunder had entirely unnerved them. I must do them the justice, however, to say that they shewed great magnanimity:—they suppressed their feeling, and never uttered a cry, for fear of intimidating or interrupting the hands. On getting on shore they quickly recovered, and we enjoyed a pleasant walk back to the town, and passed the evening with that serene delight which is only known to those who have experienced an equally extraordinary and eventful day.

Very shortly there will be no necessity of boats encountering such rocks. A 276 canal is now constructing on each side of the Ohio, by which means vessels may descend at all seasons, and without the possibility of accident or danger. For some time back from eight

Library of Congress

to twelve boats have been lost annually, and many have been detained for want of water. Therefore the canal must prove a grand acquisition, and extend benefit far and wide. It is to be finished in two years, and will be about three miles in length.

277

LETTER XXIX.

Excursion from Louisville—view of the country and its productions—Kentuckyan mode of life—medicinal herbs—birds—list of snakes—remarkable mocking bird—a rich vale—Beardstown.

Louisville, Aug. 1806.

I HAVE just returned from an excursion, of which I transmit you my notes.

Accommodated with two excellent saddle and one good pack horse for the conveyance of my tent, and a few common necessities, I took a south course with the intention of reaching Beardstown, a rising settlement about fifty miles off. I was very glad to find that the hills were neither so rugged nor numerous 278 as I had previously experienced in most other parts of the state; but I passed several swamps and ponds, which emitted a most noxious smell, and affected for a moment both the stomach and the head. I found the country exceedingly well timbered. Sugar maple, the coffee, the papaw, the hackberry, and the cucumber tree every where abounded. The coffee tree resembles the black oak, and bears a pod, which encloses a seed, of which a drink is made, thought by inferior tastes to be as good as coffee. Besides these, I met with the honey locust, black mulberry, and wild cherry of a very large size, and the magnolia, bearing a beautiful blossom and shedding an exquisite fragrance. Numerous farms chequered this rich scene, producing wheat, corn, oats, flax, hemp, tobacco, cotton, and vegetables of all kinds, common to a mild climate, and which appeared to yield 279 abundantly. The wheat promising sixty, and the corn one hundred bushels per acre, in many well cultivated plantations. The fruit made no appearance. The trees bear too much at a season and perish untimely. Some

Library of Congress

peach-brandy is manufactured, but no cider is made in the country. I rode about fifteen or seventeen miles through this kind of mingled scenery, when I stopt at the house of a cultivator whom I had fallen in with on the road, and took such refreshment as we found prepared. I shall mention it to you because it conveys a general idea of the mode of living through the State. On entering the house, which was a log one, fitted up very well, the Kentuckyan never exchanged a word with his wife or his children, who were worrying a kangaroo on the floor before him, notwithstanding he had been absent several days. No tender enquiry, no affection or sentiment, O 5 280 but a contemptuous silence, and a stern brutality, which block up all the avenues to the heart. The poor woman, whom I pitied (for 'tis a fact that the women do not degenerate in proportion to the men, but continue to this day amiable) made a large bowl of drink, called *toddy*, composed of sugar, water, whiskey, and peach-juice, and handed it to her husband with all the servility of a menial; he drank and passed it to me, who followed his example, and found the liquor excellent.

The dinner consisted of a large piece of salt bacon, a dish of homslie, and a tureen of squirrel broth. I dined entirely on the last dish, which I found incomparably good, and the meat equal to the most delicate chicken. The Kentuckyan ate nothing but bacon, which indeed is the favorite diet of all the inhabitants of the State, and drank 281 nothing but whiskey, which soon made him more than two thirds drunk. In this last practice he is also supported by the public habit. In a country then, where bacon and spirits form the favorite summer repast, it cannot be just to attribute entirely the causes of infirmity to the climate. No people on earth live with less regard to regimen. They eat salt meat three times a day, seldom or never have any vegetable, and drink ardent spirits from morning till night! They have not only an aversion to fresh meat, but a vulgar prejudice that it is unwholesome. The truth is, their stomachs are depraved by burning liquors, and they have no appetite for any thing but what is high flavored and impregnated with salt. Disgusted with the subject of these reflections, I rose from table, cast a dollar on it for my entertainment, and hastening Cuff to prepare my horses, rode off, 282 determined to pay no more such visits, and to want convenience and information sooner than seek them at such a source.

Library of Congress

I had advanced but a few miles, when I left the ridgy regions which confine the Ohio, and travelled through a delightful country, presenting to view one extended plain, interspersed with trees and covered with herbs and blossoms which embalmed the air with the sweetest odours, and added to the luxury of the charming scene. Many spots were enriched by shady groves, and many enlivened with lilies, roses, gilly-flowers, and jessamins, and a thousand other flowers, joined to the finest and most aromatic violets in the world. My servant, who is far a better botanist than myself, presented to my notice several herbs made use of by the wise men of his nation. I knew one to be the *eustracia*, which, by being soaked in warm water, and applied moist to the eye, restores a weak sight, or stops the fountain of the worst cataract. The next was that extraordinary herb called the *escursonera*, which is an antidote against all sorts of poison, and a remedy for the bite of the worst vipers. It is also said to be serviceable in the yellow fever; in fits, paroxysms and vapours, and capable of dispelling gloom and melancholy. There was also another vegetable whose flower was very beautiful, and which the Indians used in all cases of fever and flux. The same exists in Portugal, and is known by the name of *anagris*.

Birds of every description, plumage, and song, were met with. Quail and partridge held the vicinity of cultivated grounds; pheasants and black cocks abounded in the deepest woods, and the blue linnet, red bird, purple finch, and hundreds of such others, 284 claimed the protection of smaller detached bouquets and rural bowers.

On the approach of evening, I chose for my encampment, one of those favored spots which nature had exerted herself to adorn. It was the bank of a small stream finely wooded, interspersed with shrubs and flowers, and resorted to by many birds, which gave life and harmony to the embellished scene. The rapid little creek forced its way through the rocky channel beneath, and the trees that overhung the stream, exhibited an assemblage truly picturesque. On such a spot I encamped with my faithful follower, and soon prepared a supper out of the fortune of the day. I had killed a very fine black cock and several quails. The flesh of the black cock was of the most exquisite relish. This bird is known in

Library of Congress

the Highlands of Scotland. He is not commonly found in so southern a latitude as this.
285 In the winter of 1788, these birds were taken plentifully about Quebec. Whenever the winter of the Arctic region sets in with rain, so as to cover the branches and leaves of trees with a glaze of ice, they are deprived of their food, and obliged to fly to a milder climate. They differ much from those of Europe in colour, the feathers being mostly white, and a coronet of a dark grey displayed on the head.

After the repast, I began to prepare for the night. To prevent the robberies frequently perpetrated in Kentucky, I charged my rifle and pistols, and placed a *couteau de chasse* where I intended laying my head. My next care was to guard against wild cats, wolves, and panthers; and, above all, against my most hated enemy, the crawling and deadly snake. In all my wandering they have cost me the greatest portion of pain and uneasiness; and I have 286 never encamped, but when my friend Cuff has led my mind to the contemplation, by relating stories of serpents, sufficient to appal the stoutest heart. Our repast ended, and our arrangements made, the conversation as usual, turned on the serpent tribe, and we called the following at least to our recollection.

Rattle Snake

Yellow Ditto

Small Ditto

Bastard Ditto

Moceasm Snake

Grey spotted Ditto

Water Viper, with a sharp thorn tail

Black Viper

Library of Congress

Brown Ditto

White bodied, brown eyed Snake

Black Snake with lineal Rings

A Snake with 152 Scutæ, and 135 Scutillæ

Bluish green Snake, with a stretched-out triangular snout

Copper bellied Snake

Black Snake

White neck Ditto

Small brown Adder

House Ditto

Water Ditto

Brown Snake

287

Little bead Ditto

Coach-whip Ditto

Corn Ditto

Green Ditto

Wampum Ditto

Library of Congress

Ribbon Ditto

Pine-Horn, or Bull Snake, with a spear in his tail

Joint Snake

Garter Ditto

Striped Ditto

Chicken Ditto

Glass Ditto

Brown spotted Ditto

Yellow & white Ditto

Hissing Ditto

Ring Ditto

Two Headed Ditto

Copper Headed Ditto

On taking every precaution which fear could suggest against such a host of enemies, I at length lay down, and from excessive fatigue, passed a night of the most tranquil and undisturbed repose. I was waked in the morning before the sun rise by an extraordinarily fine mocking bird. He began by natural notes, musical and solemn, and then assumed the tones of numerous other animals, whether quadrupeds or birds. He seemed to divert himself alternately with alluring or terrifying other birds, 288 and to sport with their hopes and fears. Sometimes he enticed them with the call of their mates, and on their approach

Library of Congress

terrified them with the screams of the eagle, or some other bird of prey. After this, he again took up his own native melody, and rising to the top of the highest tree, poured forth the sweetest and most various strains that imagination could conceive, and more than any other creature is endowed with the faculty to perform. This enchanting bird continued while I prepared and sat at my breakfast, and I heard his notes long after I left the place of his rest.

The remainder of my ride to Beardstown, was highly interesting. It lay through an enchanting vale in many places cultivated to the summit of the hills that formed it, and in all others covered with luxuriant timber and aromatic plants and shrubs. The vale is twenty miles in length, and fifteen in breadth; and as the splendid productions of nature, with which it abounds, are mingled with neat farm-houses, and settlements of considerable improvement, I know of no place that can vie with it for richness of scenery and rural perfection. No doubt, this vale and one other nearly similar to it, have been the cause of the extraordinary and extravagant reports which have been so industriously circulated in favor of Kentucky. The authors of such reports, filled with enthusiasm by the abundant beauties of such spots, lost sight of the general deformity of the country, and led the world astray by publishing the impressions made on them by a local and particular place.

Having conversed with a planter of some civilization and intelligence, I learned that the vale had been the favorite residence of a nation of Indians, called, from tradition, Pono 290 Cognorago, or the Vale of Spirits—which bears an exact analogy to our Garden of Eden, or Paradise, such places as have been deigned worthy the care and the walks of God.

Beardstown is situated on the southern verge of the Vale of Spirits, and where the ground is diversified by easy risings, and enriched with noble forests and improved land, abounding in domestic cattle and all manner of wild game. The prodigality of the inhabitants not as yet having been equal to the accomplishment of its ruin. The town consists of about fifty houses, frame, log, and brick, and derives much of its consequence from receiving the road through it which leads from the Eastern States, through Pittsburgh,

Library of Congress

Chilicothé, and Lexington, to New Orleans and stations on the Mexican Gulph: a rout of about eighteen hundred miles, for the most part over 291 mountains and through swamps and wilderness; but which have now small taverns placed at convenient distances through its whole length. It is also the great post road to Tinesse, Georgia, and the Carolinas. Its market is extraordinarily cheap, as may be judged from the terms of board and lodging, being but from a dollar to a dollar and a half per week. Of the inhabitants I have already said enough to make humanity shudder. They trample on all the advantages spread before them by nature, and live in a brutal ignorance of the charms and luxuries which surround them.

The principal part of the produce of the country about Beardstown is conveyed to the Ohio by means of the Green River, which rises near the head of Salt River, and pursuing a westerly course, empties itself into the Ohio about fifty miles above the Wabach 292 River. To the S. E. lie the Great Barrens—several million of acres of no utility to man or beast, being entirely destitute of water. To the west a considerable way, flow the two great rivers, called Cumberland and Tenesse.

The whole country, as far as has been explored, is found to lie on a bed of limestone, which generally lies six feet below the surface, except in valleys, where the soil is much thinner.

I remained but one night at Beardstown. The following day I returned here by a different direction, but met with nothing to be described without a dull tautology.

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

LETTER XV. *Indian incantations and charmse—priests—their extraordinary knowledge and gifts—interesting explanation of the cause—very remarkable antiquities—encounter with a rattle snake, which is killed—deer—wild turkeys—Lanesville—farther very remote and grand antiquities—golden treasure found—the bubble bursts.*

Library of Congress

LETTEK XVI. *Little Kenhaway River—Belleprie—Bacchus's Island—fine view of it—the house—its elegant and interesting inhabitants—a rural evening and supper—Big Hockhocking River—New Lancaster town—its sudden rise and as sudden decline by a contagious sickness—Dutch cupidity and its consequences—Belleville Town and Island—the Devils's Creek—Letart's Falls—danger of passing them, especially in the night—Campaign Creek—Point Pleasant, a handsome little town.*

LETTER XVII. *Farther particulars of the great Kenhaway River—Lead mines—attrocious massacre of Indians, the family of the celebrated Logan, the friend of the whites—its consequences—the battle of Point Pleasant—the speech of Logan—catalogue of Indian birds—character of the Mocking-bird and Indian the Virginia Nightingale.*

LETTER XVIII. *Galliopolis, a French Settlement—Historical account of its rise, progress, and fall—its present miserable state.*

LETTER XIX. *Various rivers and creeks—saw-mills—a fine salt-spring and an Indian pottery—Great Sandy Creek—central situation of its mounth—erronious accounts of Kentucky—corrected—extravagant price of lands—an excursion—vestiges of the remains of a Chief of uncommon size—game—wild hogs—remains of an Indian village—an alarm—explained—wolves hunting their prey.*

LETTER XX. *Settlement of the French families removed from Galliopolis—their mode of life and domesticated animals—a French rural repast and dance—navigation to Alexandria—account of the town and its vicinage—Portsmouth—The Scioto river—Chilicothé, principal town of the Ohio State—difficult access to it—The Pickawee Plains—a grand situation for a capital—Antiquities of Chilicothé and barbarous taste of the inhabitants—the Governor, his worthy character—slavery entirely abolished—its benefecial effects—Salt springs—Run to Maysville.*

Library of Congress

LETTER XXI. *Maysville or Limestone Town—Liberty Town—interior of Kentucky—deceitful prospect—Washington—May's Lick, a salt-spring—Salt Licks, why so called—the Blue Lick—Millersburgh—Paris.*

LETTER XXII. *Lexington described—churches—university—amusements—concerts and balls—the inhabitants, male and female—trade—the merchants, their great wealth—the market—expence of boarding—the town likely to decrease—climate—fevers—their causes—soil—farms, produce, &c.—a catacomb with mummies—manner of embalming.*

LETTER XXIII. *Excellent navigation between Limestone and Cincinnati—Augusta—the Little Miami of the Ohio—Columbia—Licking River—Cincinnati—details of this important town—interesting anecdote of a lady.*

LETTEK XXIV. *Cincinnati—built on the site of an ancient Indian settlement—an astonishing curiosity—other antiquities—fine paintings.*

LETTER XXV. *An excursion to the country of the Miamis—Lebanon town—interesting sect of Quakers—continuance of the excursion—horses of the Western country—state of farming in the neighbourhood.*

LETTEK XXVI. *Dayton town, its fine situation—a snake of snapping tortoise—timber of this country—the sugar maple—an Indian camp.*

LETTER XXVII. *Dayton—a rich and fine country—trees, shrubs, and flowers—humming birds—Mad River—situation of the inhabitants on its banks—the Great Miami—Hamilton town.*

LETTER XXVIII. *Judge Symmes's residence, an elegant mansion in a charming situation—his family, &c.—Indian territory—Big-bone Lick—Grant's Lick, its excellent salt—Nitre, caves, and hills—Frankfort, the capital of Kentucky—Kentucky River—its magnificent banks—antiquities—Louisville—passage of the Falls—a terrific scene.*

Library of Congress

LETTER XXIX. *Excursion from Louisville—view of the country and its productions—Kentucky mode of life—medicinal herbs—birds—list of snakes—remarkable mocking bird—a rich vale—Beardstown.*

THE END OF VOL. II.

John Abraham, Printer, Clement's Lane.